

LECTION ISSUE
97
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CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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JUNE 9, 1997

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Distinct societies

16 Jean Chrétien and the Liberals limped back to power in an election that changed the way Canada will be governed. The House of Commons will now have five official parties, reflecting a nation that is more regionally splintered than ever, even as it faces the likelihood of another Quebec referendum.

Demanding justice

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Sex, lies and the President

38 Bill Clinton faces a potentially embarrassing legal struggle after the Supreme Court gives the go-ahead to a suit filed by a woman who



Bailey stops Johnson

60 There were already talk of a rematch after Donovan Bailey's blazing defeat of Michael Johnson, who pulled up with a leg injury.



Merley: many capable, articulate women in broadcasting

Future of TV news

Speaking as one two years younger than 25-year-old Stephen Marshall of the video disc Channel Zero, I would encourage news producers to discuss what he has to say and pay attention to the point made early in his article—that when we are used to getting news updates to suit our own schedules on CNN or Newsweek, it is to be expected that the first-line news broadcasts on other stations will experience a drop in youth viewership ("Kinship of the news," *Cover*, May 30). God forbid we end up in news avoidance run by the likes of Marshall! If the news was to become like the barely coherent, self-indulgent newsreaders exemplified by Channel Zero, I fear the audience for news broadcasts would drop to zero itself.

Sam Matheson,
Lethbridge, Alta. 38

Your article on women in broadcasting ("The female question") painted a picture of some highly competent and articulate performers, well able to fill an anchor position. Consequently, it seemed odd that you [Dorothy] writer felt it necessary to describe them with terms such as the "traffic stoppage" Wendy Merley and "dunce-baited"

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Passages

APPOINTED: Hall of Fame goaltender and best-selling author **Fernando Dykstra**, 49, to the position of president of Maple Leaf Gardens, replacing **Cliff Fletcher**. After spending eight years as goalie for the Montreal Canadiens in the 1970s, during which the team won the Stanley Cup on three, Dykstra retired from hockey in 1979 to complete his legal education at McGill University. He launched a writing career with a 1983 best-selling nonfiction title, *The Game*, which was nominated for a Governor General's Award for nonfiction.



DIAGNOSED: Canadian professional tennis player **Helen Gudgeon**, 27, with a brain tumor. She was scheduled to have surgery in a Vancouver hospital on June 3, but surgery was postponed after she fell ill. In 1995, she underwent two operations to remove a benign tumor from behind her forehead.

DISMISSED: A \$5-million lawsuit against Canadian actress **Patricia Anderson**, 30, launched by the producers of a proposed American cable television movie, *Velvet*, *Sex* Ltd. was pulled out because she objected to the sex scenes.

AIRING: Folk music icon **Bob Dylan**, 56, from a chest infection, which has forced him to cancel a European tour. The musician is resting at an undisclosed hospital.

CONFIRMED: **Shirley Walker**, 21, will testify for the Crown at her father's murder trial in England later this year. Former financial adviser **Albert Walker**, 51, fled to England from Canada in 1990 with \$2 million, allegedly taking \$3.2 million in client funds. The prosecution contends that Walker assumed the identity of a friend, **Ronald Platt**, said Platt to move to Canada, and murdered him when he returned.

DIED: German nuclear physicist **Manfred von Ardenne**, 95, at his home in Dresden. Elected by the Soviets at the end of the Second World War, von Ardenne played an instrumental role in developing the first Soviet nuclear bomb in 1949.

DIED: Canadian poet and publisher **Shirley Giffin**, 69, of a heart attack, in Toronto.

THE MAIL

Friends who smoke

I was dismayed at the whole letters worded as if friends who had to be smokers ("Degrees of cool," *The Mail*, April 28). Let's not get carried away by our fear of second-hand smoke. We are all polluters of the air if we, too, use stoves, use electricity, drive cars, work in factories with smokestacks, etc. Next time you take a deep breath, remember that second-hand smoke is only one of many chemicals you are inhaling. And we're still pretty healthy, aren't we?

Dorothy Armstrong,
New City, Ont.

Speaking for Canada

The Road Ahead in the April 14 issue was a penetrating assessment outlining only one of the many serious problems facing Quebec: should the citizens of that province vote for secession ("Whose separation meets NATO?"). I believe the future of Canada, including Quebec, lies not in the hands of the Prime Minister, but rather in the hands of our provincial premiers. If they ever found the intestinal fortitude to stand collectively for this great country, they could spell out to Quebec clearly, as Lorne St. John does in her letter, the disastrous economic and political consequences of separation. Who will speak for Canada?

John Douglas,
Toronto

Trade interests

The article on the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment that our government is advocating was a real eye-opener ("Thinking inside," *Business*, April 28). It is hard to understand how this can be in the best interest of Canada. It certainly is in the best interest of the large multinational companies. If Canada is to maintain its individuality, and control its development and culture, we must act now. Please give us more information so we can be better informed. This needs to be fully debated.

John Warkentin,
Toronto, Ont.

From the little we have been able to read about the upcoming Multilateral Agreement on Investment, it would take away all powers of governments to place restrictions on the behavior of corporate investors. Applied to Canada, it will require that any investor wishing to invest in Canadian assets must be given the same treatment as the self-financed Canadian investor. The implications are horrendous. "We stand on guard for free!" becomes a empty phrase. The agreement gives a level playing field to all corpo-

rates among the 36 OECD nations. When the giants allow the markets on a level playing field, the smaller ones will be crushed. I am convinced that the effect of the agreement would be to transfer to the corporate boardrooms of the multinationals the power to control the economies of nations. It would leave all national, provincial and local governments helpless at the face of corporate objectives, unable to provide for or protect the low-income and well-being of their citizens. It would accelerate the already staggering pace at which wealth is being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, the hands of people whose only objectives are monetary returns on investment. If you thought Canadians were immune to the breakdown of socialism, take the new renaissance shakedown of capitalism and watch where it goes. The security with which the negotiations have gone forward is very disturbing.

J. E. Whelan,
Richmond, B.C.

Political views

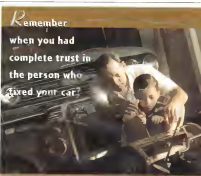
I have always felt that Allan Fotheringham's page was very well kept. After reading the piece on Tony Blair, however, I was disappointed ("Smuggling in the parks with

Tony Blair," *May 12*). The tone was snide and mean. He couldn't seem to let go of his Tory bias. I don't know on what basis he can say "no charming to Clinton but without the latent power." Personally, I can only view Blair's election as a breath of fresh air—beneficial for European Union, education and maybe even helpful in lowering the class system that seems, unfortunately, to persist in the United Kingdom.

Nancy Swenson,
Fort Hope, Ont.

'I was there'

I was not surprised by Dalton Camp's gestures as appraisal of Brian Mulroney ("A defining year," *Special Report*, April 23), or by a revival Mulroney speech. I think at this time, however, that Mulroney stepped during his glowing endorsement of himself with us. It is not news that Mulroney has a high regard for his performance as prime minister. But it galled me to hear him state: "I did it twice." I was there. Brian. What I saw you saw. I saw you make it closer to the edge of the abyss. I saw you make an undertaking to deliver something to Quebec. I saw you turn to English Canada and say, at affect: "Do this, or else." When you uttered that threat you raised your fate. It was you who alienated people, and it was you who failed.



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To Deliver (Quebec, not Canada in general). I was amazed to see you clipping at Prime Minister Jean Chretien over the last referendum. Who set the trend, *Times*? Who purchased through his own ingenuity that another referendum is now being counted down the track some? Who asked for a second turn at but and promptly struck out again? Not Jean Chretien.

Ron Murray
Fort Meade, B.C.

A bountiful nation'

We all revel in our significant achievements as a nation, and the past year has been especially bountiful with world hockey championships by our men's, women's and junior teams. Our Olympics, caribou, and, yes, our penicillins, as well as our generosity—but in the Canada that suffers no proud, I, however, have never been prouder of us as a people than after witnessing the quiet courage and dignity displayed by the flood victims in Manitoba ("Red River courage, Coner, May 10, Name-calling and blame were generally not there. Indeed, most recognized the need to sacrifice themselves for the greater good. These fine people deserve our gratitude and an such support as can be sent their way.

Ron Krjnjac,
St. John's, Nfld. AB

Health-care dilemmas

I have worked for 4 1/2 years here in Texas, and have kept a close eye on the beleaguered Canadian health-care system through your well-written articles. I was in tears when I received your April 28 edition ("The nurses," Coner). I use to live in Calgary and my daughters were born at Folly Creek. I was moved to read that wonderful hospital, as well as the General, succumbed to the government's harsh and bare tactics. The article just reinforced my knowledge that the frontline caregivers are stressed to the max. We need you to know that Canadian nurses in Texas are very aware what is happening back home, and you father and brother names are certainly in our thoughts and prayers. May God give you the strength to carry out your duty work no matter what is to come.

Laura A. Magnus
McAllen, Tex. AB

My wife and I are both RNs, and are very proud to be Canadian, but due to Canadian government cutbacks we were forced to move to the United States five years ago to live and work. The United States is a fine country, but it is not home. We miss our families and friends. We retire every summer,



Flooded home south of Winnipeg: quiet courage and dignity displayed by the flood victims

and every summer we look for work, only to be told there is none. Last year, we were told at a Canada employment office that if we wanted to work in RNs we should move to the States. What is going on when a country's own government is supporting the loss and directing the migration of skilled specialists to another country? It is a sad day when you cannot live in the country you love unless you wish to go on welfare.

Scott F. Kennedy
Bradenton, Fla. AB

You have devoted only one sentence to licensed practical nurses in your cover story. LPNs are professional nurses, too. Twenty-five years ago, LPNs were told their profession was going the way of the dinosaur. Primary nursing care (RN's) and the requirement for all RNs to have a degree was on its way. Many LPN positions were eliminated across Canada. This method of patient care has grown to be neither cost-effective nor an improvement in the quality of patient care. The current economic climate re-



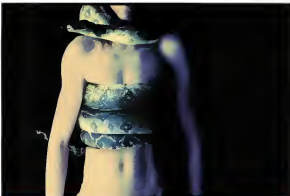
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quires that patient care be delivered by an appropriate mix of qualified staff. As hospital administrators look at reducing LPNs, the BC associations are crying loudly. RNs and LPNs are both members of the health-care team, and by working together they can provide safe and appropriate care to patients.

Jean Harvey
Nelson, B.C.

I relate well to the dilemma faced by Canadian nurses. Countrywide, the nurses in the health-care sector face government cutbacks, layoffs, hospital closures and, depressing as it is, this list could continue. Teachers face the same controversial issues. We, as educators, aren't just teachers any more—we perform many roles every day. With the dilemma facing the education or health-care systems, I often wonder why high school students continue to choose these professions. The answer lies within the individual who wants to become a nurse or a teacher. Congratulations to all nurses and teachers in Canada for their perseverance to meet the challenges that technology, government and society impose on us.

Lynn Jones
Nelson, B.C.

How many Canadians truly want someone who looks like a five-cent coin in our currency to be given an aid and comfort to form political-party policies? Do we really need to choose a new name for their new job category? It seems that no one recalls or knows why Florence Nightingale began the profession of nursing. When people are in any type of pain or discomfort, they do not need someone capable of taking over administration of a nation's health policies; they need hands-on personal care and trust from someone who does not resent giving such things. With this dichotomy of basic ideals between nurses and politicians, it is no wonder neither are very happy just now.

Brenda Webb
Aps, Ont.

Teaching tolerance

I am saddened and embarrassed by the realization that so many Canadian adults would go out of their way to ensure that gay and lesbian students continue to suffer from the at times life-threatening intolerance ("Class action," *Education*, May 19). Tom Crites, a spokesperson for Parents Rights in Education, comments that "there are more fat people than gay people in our schools, so why all this special treatment for gay kids?" He fails to realize that by attempting to thwart educators' efforts to create schools better environments for homosexual kids, groups like his are also giving gay students a more destructive kind of "special treatment." Why not instate some

programs to help these overweight children instead of wasting energy on the shortsighted cause of making the lives of a few kids even more difficult?

Mary Ruppel-Bloch
Preston, B.C.

Your article about being a gay or lesbian student raised some points that may be the concern of the parents in British Columbia. Kids have always been verbally and physically harassed and abused by other kids for being different (physical, cultural, etc.). Since the schools don't teach our children tolerance for these differences, why should they for homosexuality? Parents teach, by example, respect for the differences of others. Tolerance should be learned from the home. The schools are busy enough teaching our children to read and write.

Doug Almond
Saskatoon, B.C.

Canadian choices

Perhaps Charles Gosselin should change the title of his column to an American View. One of the reasons I'm an admirer of Canada is its ability to stay out of "Wal-Mart politics" ("Department store politics may

save us," *Another View*, April 28). Despite a population one-tenth that of the United States, and the overwhelming media and political influence from south of the border, Canadians continue to retain their identity. The U.S. two-party system grows closer to a one-party system with everyone racing to the centre. In Canada, Liberal, Reform, NDP, Tory, and even the Bloc Québécois represent a choice. Canada should be thankful to still have some Tiffneys to sleep at.

Daphne Fennell
Calgary, B.C.

Bilingual Bouchard

To say that Lucien Bouchard spoke virtually no English when he first came federally in 1988 in the context of unilingual MPs may be misleading. ("Fencing with neighbours," *Antisocial*, Wilson-Smith, April 21). At an informal gathering after a Canadian night in Lille, France, in November 1986, my wife, a former Montrealer, deliberately addressed then-ambassador Bouchard in English. We well remember his cordial response, chatting comfortably for several minutes without a hint of a new job in France. If indeed he spoke no English in 1988, it must have been deliberate.

Karl Roth
Birmingham, France



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Distinct Societies

The election leaves the nation splintered aever before

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

On the last day of what may have been Jean Chrétien's final election campaign, the Prime Minister went back to the place where his life and his political career both began. As he did in the 1993 election, Chrétien returned to Quebec's St-Maurice riding, where he was born in 1934, and where he first won election in 2003. Dressed in a dark suit and tie, he cast his ballot early at École Ste-Maurice on 3rd Street in the tiny village of Ste-Flavie-de-Grand-Mère. Later, he retreated to his cottage at Lac des Piles to watch the results with his family. As in 1993, Chrétien appeared buoyant and said he was "confident" that again, there was cause for worry. In the last election, the Liberals appeared headed for a majority government—but feared that Chrétien might lose his own seat. This time, the reverse was true. Chrétien seemed likely to win his seat, but his advisers feared that the Liberals might not meet their goal of a second majority government. "It was said," sighed a dispirited adviser as election day "supposed to be like that."

In the end, it was clear on both counts. Chrétien won his riding—but after a marginally tough race. Nationally, the Liberals avoided a last-minute election night. Shortly after the polls closed in Atlantic Canada, it looked as though their worst fears were about to be realized. In those four provinces, where the party was 31 of 32 seats last time out, the Liberals were reduced to 11 seats—and lost two cabinet ministers in the process. The losses continued across much of the country as Canadians voted in an election that has left the nation splintered as never before—even as it faces the likelihood of another Quebec referendum. A wild card in the successive empty battle to come will be Reform party Leader Preston Manning, whose tough stance against Quebec demands for a firm of special constitutional status won strong support in the West, and equally strong sympathy in Quebec. His new status as official Opposition leader will further highlight tensions between Canada's regions.

For all the problems that he showed, Chrétien did succeed in his goal of becoming the first Liberal leader since Louis St-Laurent in the 1950s to be back-to-back majority governments. Even Chrétien's



Prime and Spouse Manning: Jean and Anne Clavelle (left) reactions between Canada's widely divergent regions

longtime leader, Pierre Trudeau, was never able to achieve that. But given the Liberals' close brush with minority status, Chrétien was refused to putting the best face on a hollow victory. "I promise to do my best, and lead a government of integrity," he said in his victory speech. "This evening, the Canadian people have renewed their confidence in our issues and in our program. I accept this honor." At

the end of the night, the results in the next 300-seat House of Commons were Liberals, 125 seats; Reform, 63; Bloc Québécois, 44; New Democrats, 21; Progressive Conservatives, 20; Independents, 1.

On a superficial level, the new Liberal government will look and sound the same as its predecessor. But for the first time in Canada's history, the House of Commons will have five official parties—all with more than the 12 seats needed for formal recognition. That in more than just a mathematical curiosity; it reflects the political realities of a fractured country. Once again, the Liberals won seats in all of Canada's regions. But roughly two-thirds of their support comes from Ontario, where they won 111 seats, a fact that is certain to stir resentment about the province's outsized influence over the rest of the country. And as unexpected support for the party was Quebec, where the total of 26 seats was more than even the most optimistic Liberals expected.

Reform, which dominated the final two weeks of the campaign with its tough talk about the potential consequences of Quebec secession, won, except post the Bloc Québécois to gain Opposition status. Manning, in a generally gracious speech, nonetheless called the result "a warning to the Liberal party." And, he said, Reform's rise was proof that "the old political landscape is changing." Still, Manning's delight at that achievement was muted by the fact that, again, his party failed to make inroads in Central and Eastern Canada: almost all of its members will come from Alberta and British Columbia. In 1993, the party won one seat in Ontario; this time, it was shut out completely.

At Reform's election night headquarters in downtown Calgary, there was an air of expectation as results started rolling in. While a caution played softly on a grand piano in the lobby of the Metropolitan Centre, Reformers cheered gleefully as they prepared to celebrate an expected breakthrough in Ontario. Buoyed by early reports that the Liberals were being battered in Atlantic Canada, the crowd of about 500 Reformers in Ontario returned showed Liberal support holding. Reform strategist Ron Wood could not hide his disappointment with Canada's most moodless province, but also admitted he was not

surprised. "You've got people in Ontario who have voted Liberal all their lives, including my aunt who's 97," said Wood. "They'd have to be struck by lightning to vote anything else."

The lack of an Ontario breakthrough, said University of Alberta political scientist Larry Pratt, suggested that Reform is destined to remain a western-based movement, similar to the Social Credit party of the 1950s and early 1960s. "Reform might have done better in Ontario had it moderated its attacks on Quebec," said Pratt. "But it also has to preserve its Alberta base, and that's the problem it faces."

Among the other three party leaders, the biggest is likely to be Alton McDougall, who led the NRP to an unprecedented breakthrough in the Atlantic provinces—where it was right near zero. On election night, a causal glimpse at Halifax's historic Lord Nelson Hotel might have thought that it was the New Democratic Party, not the deeply wounded Liberals, who were about to form the next government. Bounding to the stage in the hotel's main ballroom on a standing-room-only crowd of supporters cheered and clapped enthusiastically, McDougall declared: "Tonight is about making history. And the next four years will be about making a difference."

Her own race in the riding of Halifax was supposed to be a tightly fought three-way contest between McDonough, Liberal incumbent Mary Clancy and popular provincial Tory Terry Donahue. But McDonough won easily—and her party exceeded its wildest expectations, winning seven other seats in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Another brother who reversed a party from the ascendant to only two seats in the last Parliament—was the Tories' Jean Charest. Now the Conservatives have a solid base in Eastern Canada, and Charest's potential popularity in Quebec gives the party hopes for future broads in that province—and makes him a key player in a future referendum. But the party faces some formidable difficulties. Its brightest hope after Charest—reformed MP Gen. Lew McKen-McKenzie—was defeated in his bid for elected office in the Ontario riding of Perry Sound he. And the Tories have virtually ceased to exist west of the Ontario border, where they are confined to a few seats in British Columbia and Alberta. In fact, despite the fact that Charest adapted in his election night speech, somewhat grudgingly that he may not wish to stay on and back concerning prospect of spending another four years in the courts.

The Tories' serious problems concern fundraising—and some party strategists suggest that their showing could mean financial ruin. Insiders told *Maclean's* that the Conservatives were already about \$25 million to \$30 million dollars in debt when the election was called. But that debt was balanced, and secure, by a trust fund that would have immediately settled it. Emboldened by their prospects, and buoyed by Charbonneau's favorable ratings from focus groups, the party decided to make the final push to replace the Liberals Canada allowed. Throughout the late winter and spring, in response to pleas from party big game, funds poured into Tory coffers.

Before	19
NOP	11
Blac	9



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Atlantic Canada

als. But there was a catch: in many cases, the cheques were only promised. Delivery would come after the election. Investors now fear that those cheques will never materialize. "It doesn't really matter what we want to do after the election," confessed one senior Tary. "We may have no choice. We may have to fold up our tent before then."

Meanwhile, in Blue Leader Gilen Doozge, the outlook is also bleak. Although the party rallied in the late stages of the campaign, he faced strong personal criticism—while the HQ campaign highlighted deep divisions in the sovereignist movement. And the HQ lost the advantages that came with being the official Opposition—including extra funding and the right to ask the most questions during daily Question Period. That status was a major irritant to Gendron outside Quebec. In turn, while Bloc supporters saw Reform surpass their seat total on television at their Montreal election-night headquarters, they erupted into a furious chorus of boos.

For the most part, the impact of a revitalized opposition will



A HOUSE DIVIDED

Numbers are totals of votes cast. By party: ELECTED in vote counts of Tuesday morning, June 3. Results to the 1990 general election: Liberals 177, Bloc 54, Reform 52, NDP 3, PC 2, independent 1.

not be left until fall, when the new Parliament convenes. But changes will become evident well before that. The first is the formation of Charlier's cabinet, which will—by both necessity and desire—be quite different. Some familiar figures are nearly certain to be back in their previous portfolios, such as Finance Minister Paul Martin, Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps, and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Austin. But in the previous cabinet, Charlier's two strongest representatives from the four Atlantic provinces were Defence Minister Doug Young from New Brunswick, and Health Minister David Dingwall from Nova Scotia; both were unexpectedly defeated.

WHAT COMES NEXT?

The Liberals have had a bad fright. They are escaped with a very slight majority—but the voters are not content. Although it is clear that the Liberals must now pay new attention to their policies, their problem lies in what to do. They are caught in a dilemma: both wigs of their party are angry with them. In the West, they lost many of their fiscally prudent, small or conservative voters because their message was allegedly mild. They were deficit fighters—but they announced plans for \$5.5 billion in new spending before balancing the budget. They were national unity defenders—but they appointed war no plans in Quebec. On the other side of the country, many voters sought a new cause: Aboriginals. Some were fed up with cuts to Employment Insurance and social programs—and exasperated by the introduction of the Harmonized Sales Tax. To add to the Liberals' woes, the new official Opposition, the Reform party, will announce every announcement with renewed zeal.

In such circumstances, the Liberals will likely be divided over just about everything. Many will want to spell out tough conditions for Quebec separation—while others will call for tactical silence. Many will opt to placate their more traditional base in Atlantic Canada with new spending, erasing their progress against the deficit—while others will hotly oppose those measures. For starters, the government will probably raise most of the 48 cents that died on the order paper when Prime Minister Jean Chrétien called the election. They include amendments to the Canada Labour Code to impose a partial ban on the hiring of re-

Charlton will likely move quickly to form his new cabinet—perhaps, some sources suggested, as early as this week. The reason is that this new government will have its work cut out for it. There is the looming 10th of October, another Quebec election that falls—and if the Parti Québécois is re-elected, another referendum on sovereignty not long after that. At the same time, the debate over how to deal with Quebec, as well as several other key issues, has taken on a new edge with Beltrami's rise to official Opposition status. With the Bloc in charge again, much of the debate in the House of Commons was devoted to Quebec's alleged ill-treatment within Canada. And on other issues, such as health care and social programs, the Bloc has adopted a left-leaning stance.

Now, the issue in all of these cases is about to change dramatically. As the second-largest party in the new Parliament, Reform is about to ensure that Canadian law reach more than their wish for tougher standards on low-and-order issues, the need for further deep reductions in government spending, and such radical proposals as privatization of the Canada Pension Plan. But the biggest change will be in the approach to Quebec. Reform turned its previously moribund campaign in the West where Manning began challenging Chrétien and Charest over their supposedly "soft" approach to Quebec sovereignty. Similarly, a controversial Reform initiative at jumped the two leaders in with Duceppe and Charest Premier Lucien Bouchard, asked whether it was not time to have

placement workers during strikes; constitutional changes allowing the replacement of Quebec's religious public schools with schools organized along linguistic lines; and an act to protect endangered species.

The Liberals will also attempt to keep most of their specific election promises (many were deliberately vague). They will cancel their two planned cuts of \$5.4 billion over four years to the Canada Health and Social Transfer. They will allow \$240 million for grants to students with dependants, \$165 million for AIDS research, \$28 million for breast cancer and \$136 million to expand industrial research. But some promises may be swept under the carpet, such as \$10 million for new works of art to celebrate the millennium—because they would simply add to the debt and flags to Reform.

More important, voters should probably expect more spending announcements, especially for programs that benefit Atlantic Canada. The Liberals may grant a one-year extension beyond May 1998, to The Atlantic Growth Strategy (TAGS), which provides generous benefits to unemployed fishermen. They will likely open discussions with the provinces to ensure that medicines eventually cover home care and perhaps pharmacists. They may increase the David T. Benoit, which is already slated to rise by \$600 million to \$5 billion in July 1998. And they may channel more funds into infrastructure programs, experimentation, and research and development in labour. Many Liberals will miss the money that flows from Ottawa, ensuring that Ottawa no longer exceeds its deficit targets—and perhaps underpinning the nation's financial health for the sake of their own electoral prospects.

CLOSE CALLS BY THE POLLSTERS

A compromise of the computer's last four national opinion polls with the popular vote on election day

	Angus Reid (Mar 24-27)	Strategic Counsel (May 25-27)	Gallup (May 25-28)	Environics (May 25-28)	ACTUAL
LIBERAL	36%	41%	41%	39%	38%
PC	24	19	22	20	18
Reform	19	18	16	15	19
NDP	11	11	11	11	9
Bloc	9	10	9	9	11

a prime minister from another province. That tough approach is certain to be carried over into Parliament—and it will come over more than sovereignty separating the likely coalition polls show that a majority of Quebecers believe their province pays out more in tax dollars than it receives in return in services. If Chretien tries to resist that claim by showing that Quebecers benefit from Confederation—as many studies support—Maurin, in turn, is likely to argue that the federal government has paid as at the expense of other provinces.

That is one of the reasons why Liberal strategists were divided as to who they must wooed to see form the official Opposition. Shortly before election day, two senior Chretien advisers disagreed their opinions in an interview with *Martin's*. One favored Reform because, that adviser said, "The Tories just hate them—and that makes a merger of the right sort, given that much more solidarity in the near future." But the other adviser favored the Tories, citing fears that Manning will provoke many undecided Quebecers into supporting the Yes side in a future sovereignty referendum. "Every time he opens his mouth," said the adviser, "the Bloc jumps in the polls another couple of points."

But in the absence of a sharply divided campaign and with their own drastically reduced majority, the Liberals may have little time to worry about the problems caused by other parties. They have enough other foes. For one, their major business case they will have to endorse rigid discipline for their caucus to ensure that all MPs explicitly endorse votes. Already, there are signs of strains within the party. The disappointing campaign, and the similarly disappointing result, seem likely to revive old divisions and provoke new ones. The most heated of those will be between supporters of Chretien and Martin, although the two men's reputations are generally cordial and respectful. The case is not true of their followers. Martin's supporters resented that, despite his high level of popularity, he was given a low-profile campaign role until the final weeks—when it became clear that all of the party's resources were needed. They also blamed John Rae, the longtime Chretien liaison, Montreal-based journalist and campaign co-ordinator, for a

strategy they perceived considered unfair, but, not of much with voters' concerns as to Quebecers' needs.

On the other side, as the Liberals sank in the polls during the last 10 days of the campaign, candidates of Chretien began to mutter that Martin was responsible for the early election call. They said that he urged them to go to the polls because he had easily beaten his deficit targets—and because interest rates might rise in the fall, slowing economic growth.

The other key factor in the spat was Quebec. Even as Chretien takes credit for the No side's narrow win in 1995, and refutes the prospect of another scrap with sovereigntists, many other Liberals are much less enthusiastic about the prospect. They would surely prefer the bilingual Martin, who regularly scores well in popularity polls in the province.



Chretien: a party back from the brink of extinction

As well, Chretien's lackluster performance in the campaign aroused fears that, at age 55 and 34 years after he was first elected, he has simply lost his fire for citizenship.

But of all the criticisms of Chretien, that is the most unfounded. His competitive spirit in the final days seemed to burn as brightly as ever. In fact, even as he was accepting congratulations on election night, Chretien noted that "the Canadian people have given us a mandate for four years, and I intend to fulfill it." That message may have been aimed just as much at members of his own party as at those Canadians outside it. So of late, writers off as "yesterday's man," Chretien once again demonstrated that he continues, instead, to think more about where he will take the country to tomorrow. His biggest challenge, as a deeply divided Canada, may be as ensuring that his party members are just as enthusiastic about his prospect.

BY JEREMY BARNESMAN in Halifax, ANNE KRASNOGORSKY in St. John's, MARY JENNINGS in Toronto, JILL FLEGER in Calgary and CHERRY WOOD in Vancouver

VICTORS AND VANQUISHED

Once again, Canadians refused to hand out the darts and flames quite as predicted. When the votes were counted, few prominent elected members lost their seats, while the party leader dodged the pandora by winning her riding—and only to the House of Commons—by a wide margin.

LOSERS:

David Orpinoff A federal MP since 1980 and the Liberal patronage godfather in Atlantic Canada, the minister of health lost his job to an NDP candidate Michelle Duceppe, a health-care worker.

Doug Young Voters in Acadia-Bathurst, a riding in northern New Brunswick, were clearly fed up with government cuts—and took out their anger on the combative federal minister. The NDP's Yvon Godin, a union activist who led protests against cuts to employment insurance, won by more than 2,600 ballots.

Dominic LeBlanc The son of Gen. Gen. Ramo LeBlanc, late to New Democrat Angela Vautour in the New Brunswick riding of Beauport/Halifax.

Lewis MacKenzie Running for the Tories, the former cabinet minister was edged out by incumbent Liberal Andy Mitchell in the Ontario riding of Parry Sound/Muskoka.

Jim Brown A former moderate Reformer, Brown ran as Tory against Preston Manning in his home riding of Calgary Southwest but finished a poor third behind Liberal Paul Goggin.

WINNERS:

Joe Chretien The Prime Minister may be one of only seven Canadian leaders to win back-to-back majorities, but he barely scraped the Bloc's Yves Duhaime, a longtime political foe, elected Chretien by less than 1,000 votes.

Alexa McDonough The NDP leader ran away with the race in the riding of Halifax, scoring a last-time win for her party and blurring the Liberal incumbent May Clancy.

John Munro Kicked out of the Liberal caucus for demanding that the party keep its promise to scrap the GST, the Toronto MP retained the Toronto riding of York South-West as an Independent Liberal. Liberal Yip Siga, appointed as a candidate by the Prime Minister, trounced Munro by about 4,000 votes.

Ann McLellan The Liberal's natural resources minister faced a tough challenge from Reform candidate Dean Karpowich in Edmonton West, but squeaked through to retain her seat.

Garnett Grewal Well-known local Reformer Grewal won the new riding of Surrey Central, which has the largest concentration of Sikh voters in the country. In a contest against two other Sikh candidates running for the Liberals and the NDP, Grewal emphasized his firm opposition to distinct society status for Quebec—ironically, he said, that his party stands for equality among Canadians.



Duceppe and wife Helene Duceppe, departing voters in the 1995 election

Sovereignty's Stumbling Bloc

On the face of it, it was the kind of campaign that federalists knew too well: filled with mixed messages, missteps and public bickering over who should lead and with direction to lose. In recent years, those who stand for a united Canada—in Quebec and across the rest of the country—have spent much of their time arguing with each other over the future form of the nation. But now, it was the sovereignty side that appeared to be circling the response—and shooting around. And like Chretien's ill-will dog to 48 seats, the problem of a movement that, at least temporarily, is disarrayed. It is more clear than ever tonight that [constitutional] reconciliation between Canada and Quebec is impossible, and that sovereignty is inevitable," said Nick Clegg, Quebec Liberal leader Gilles Duceppe, attempting to put the best face possible on his party's results. Despite Duceppe's upbeat talk, the decline in the Bloc vote reflects Quebec voters' disaffection with the party since it showed the nation by becoming the official Opposition in 1995. Even so, sovereignty campaigners said, after Lucien Bouchard's departure in late 1995, the Bloc lost its clear sense of direction. The party also left short of the target of 60 percent support that Bloc organizers privately set for themselves. That he would have allowed the Bloc to claim that it won the backing of at least half of francophone Quebec voters. "Before that," said Christian Bouchard, the Montebello-based co-president of the Angus Reid polling group, "you face a real crisis of direction in the party."

Among the questions already being raised: how long will the hopeless, anarchistic Duceppe stay as an leader? On all probability, said very long. How much of the movement away from the Bloc was intended as a slap at Bouchard, and especially the stiff opposition to his party Quebecers' government has imposed? Quite a lot. And how serious is the schism between those sovereigntists who favor a separate nation with low taxes to Canada—such as former premier

In any event, the campaign both exposed and exacerbated divisions in the sovereignty movement. The animosity between Bouchard and Bouchard is barely disguised. It is as much as anything, from deep ideological differences. "To say they are alone because they are sovereigntists," says one Quebec adviser to Jean Chretien, "is like saying that the Prime Minister and Preston Manning are alone because they are both federalists." While Bouchard's real vision of a sovereign Quebec would include strong political and economic links to the rest of Canada, Bouchard's new nation would be a completely independent state. The campaign made clear that the two also disagree on the means of achieving that goal. Bouchard thinks Quebec should balance its books first, while Bouchard thinks that a sovereign Quebec would have an easier time balancing its budget because it would have all necessary monetary tools, such as tax policy, at its disposal—no government-imposed limits on its money. "I'm not a federalist," says one PQ backbencher, "both men make perfectly compelling arguments."

All of that should ease, or not dispute, the worries of federalists. This time, the Supreme Court of Canada is expected to rule on the federal government's challenge to Quebec's right to unilateral secession. If the judgment is in Ottawa's favor, as is considered likely, it would provide Bouchard with an ideal opportunity to call an election—one that polls suggest would give the Bloc a comfortable majority. "The reality," says pollster Bouchard, "is that only about 25 percent of English-Canadian support Reform." But the question, he adds, "is whether Quebecers will realize that—or presume that they are the authentic voice of the rest of the country." Already, the opposition of the new House of Commons makes it clear that federalists and sovereigntists will once again be spinning arguments—against each other, but also among themselves.

ANTHONY WILSON/SMITH

Unheeded Warnings

How the Liberals squandered their lead

BY MARY JANIGAN

At more than 10 days before last Monday's showdown, the Liberal high command was dangerously complacent, almost today. The election was viewed as a cakewalk to another term. Sure, there had been some slippage in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba—but no one was overly concerned. Then, the bottom fell out of the campaign. Overnight, on Friday, May 23, the Liberals plummeted to the low 30s among decided voters in their own polls, sliding from potential majority to minority status. That drop, largely due to the party's declining fortunes in Atlantic Canada and the West, transformed the election into a nail-biting, hair-pulling cliff-hanger. And even though the Liberals squeaked through with a slim majority, the results left the party battered and bruised. "It was supposed to be a walk in the garden," said one Liberal insider. "That was wrong."

That may be the understatement of this campaign. Throughout the first six weeks of the election, the Liberals were on automatic pilot because their support, although gradually slipping, was still quite healthy. But after that fateful Friday, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and his right-hand party found themselves in a new ball game. In desperation, they hung everything into a final 30-day push for support. They blasted Vancouver and Edmonton with ads that denounced the Reform party's commitment to health care—as a bid to attract less-than-enthusiastic voters who put higher emphasis on social programs. In Eastern and Central Canada, they concentrated their fire on Conservative Leader Jean Charest—because, to their horror, many voters, in every region, now believed he would make a better prime minister than Chrétien. In Atlantic Canada, they considered—but did not run—an unusual "confederate" ad that apologized for not providing full explanations of their economic plans. Instead, they ran ads showing that spending cuts were over.

And they deployed the secret weapons they had been reserving, in case of emergency, from the start of the campaign: they invoked the memory of former prime minister Brian Mulroney. Day after day, cabinet ministers such as Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps, Liberal promoters such as Newfoundland's Brian Tobin, and Chrétien himself pointedly reminded voters that Charest had been



Red Book Meaning with the Red Book, Chrétien's last ad on the defensive

a member of the highly unpopular Mulroney cabinet. "We had to blow up the bridge to Charest's credibility," says a senior Liberal. "It was our last card."

Through interviews with senior advisers from all parties, most of whom asked to remain anonymous, Mulroney's has proved to be the campaign savior. It is a tale that will likely ensure that future governments think twice before they call an early election.

In retrospect, the Liberals were foolwised. Insiders say that, starting last December, party pollster Michael Mironides, chairman of POLLARA, peppered the campaign strategy committee with closed-door presentations that noted the perils of an early election. Still, the Liberals had reason to believe in the Oct. 25, 1993, election—and, technically, did not have to go to the polls before the fall of 1996. The POLLARA warnings were stark. Go only, especially without a major issue, and the voters could rebel, asking why politicians were knocking up their doors when they had not produced the promised jobs. Wait, at least until the fall—and the voters might accept the argument that, even though there was more work to do on the economy, parliamentary tradition required an election. Campaign co-ordinator John Rex, campaign director Gordon Johnston and Chrétien's principal secretary, Eddie Goldsberg, brushed aside those warnings. The economy was thriving; the government was well ahead of its deficit targets; interest rates might rise in the fall, slowing growth; the Liberals

would secure their mandate before the Quebec election and provincial bodies; and they were comfortably ahead in the polls. The momentum became unstoppable.

To the Liberals' dismay, their April 27 campaign kickoff became the first controversial event of the election. Chrétien seemed first and foremost to be read in a monotone from notes. He even stumbled over his explanation for the early call. Most of the crowd appeared indifferent—but Manitobans, fighting rising food prices, were furious. Overnight, their opinion of Chrétien as a leader cooled. And although the Liberals satiated the province with ads featuring their Manitoba leads over the coming weeks, they never managed to recover. It was an unresponsive start to two weeks of even more unresponsive Liberal campaigning. Strategists agree that the Liberals could not clearly define their so-called ballot question, what they wanted voters to ask themselves when they entered the polling booth. The Prime Minister was supposed to position himself as a prudent manager who needed a new mandate to proceed with job creation and the protection of social programs—in the face of Tory and Reform demands for a tax cut. But Chrétien manifested that message during days of the election call when he announced \$6.5 billion in new spending. Insiders agreed that he should never mention the deficit—because it meant life to Canadians' daily lives—con-

stantly how his platform differed from theirs. He secured copies of the Liberals' last book of policies before its release. "That allowed us to know what their platform was about," Goodbye Red Book, Hello Chequebook," says Reform campaign director Rick Anderson. "It put them on the defensive." Reform support began to move up in British Columbia and Saskatchewan. More important, Manitobans managed to overtake the Liberals. Between the Manitoba floods and the B-X Minerals Ltd. gold-mining scandal, there was little room for five parties on the news. In particular, coverage of Charest was often reduced to snippets of the leader announcing a policy shift from his platform. Eventually, Tory strategists realized that Charest himself should be front and center, not his policies. They switched his daily events from factories or other sites meant to serve as backdrops to his policy announcements to embankments he frequented with supporters. "We put our own campaign on ice," concedes a strategist. "We wanted voters to think about leadership for the future." That move also shifted attention away from the Tories' platform, which hung about numbers with reckless disregard for the basic laws of addition—but which continued to harry Charest throughout the campaign.

The only real movement prior to the May 22 and 23 televised leader debates occurred in Quebec, where Bloc Québécois leader Gilles Duceppe began the campaign by standing foot high to a police. On April 28, at a check-in ceremony in Sorel, he sported a phony hat. Then, he made a near-fatal error: he fired a bus driver after he got lost on the way to a campaign stop. Strategists now agree that the win the April 28 was too much for Quebec voters: the bus driver was a real person, with family to support and bills to pay. Duceppe's standing plummeted.



less he made the link between a balanced budget and job creation. But he rarely established that crucial connection.

As Chrétien proceeded placidly, almost totally bereft through his press, Reform party leader Preston Manning saw his chance. Last fall, to firm up his base in the West, Manning reportedly visited party strong holds across the Prairies and in B.C. regions such as the Fraser Valley and the Okanagan. In January, he told his 60 MPs that they would have to take responsibility for keeping those seats, while his campaign would focus on winning another 20 targeted ridings: 20 in Western Canada, 25 in Ontario and a handful in the Atlantic provinces.

It was an subtle move. Day after day, Manning roved across the country, pounding his Liberal and Tory opponents—and

The second stage of the campaign began when Reform Quebec premier Jacques Parizeau waded—not so innocently—into the fray. In an excerpt from his new book (officially published on May 3), Parizeau hinted that he would have issued a unilateral declaration of independence if Quebecers had voted Yes in the October 1995 referendum. Although the former premier subsequently backed away from this interpretation, the emotional issue of national unity was suddenly on the campaign table. And when the future of Canada was re-emphasized during the leaders' debates, it changed the election course.

Commentators in both English and French Canada agreed that Charest had performed the best. But with the exception of Quebec, where the Tories shot upward and the Bloc made its final move, the fallout from the debates was slow to register. In the rest of Canada, the only noticeable effect was a slight edge to Liberal and NDP popularity—a slight rise in Tory and Reform support. Still, the renewed interest in Chrétien, especially in the wake of the second French-language leaders' debate on May 18, was enough to prod Reform strategists into highly controversial action. To maintain momentum, Manning began to point out that his two most opponents were Quebecers—and that Canadians from the rest of Canada reserved a voice in the unity debate. At the same time, within three days of that second debate, Reform filed an explosive ad on national unity that

Anti-Conservative protesters, jeeringly taking Charest to the streets before prime election

hugged Charest and Chretien together with Duceppe and separatist Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard. It debuted on May 31. Meanwhile, the NDP was lowering its sights from its targeted 20 seats. The party entered the campaign with nine MPs and a decidedly left-wing platform that combined \$12 billion in annual tax increases with about \$20 billion in new spending. Because leader Alexa McDonough cheerfully confessed that the NDP had no hope of forming the government, these proposals were largely ignored—while support for the New Democrats rose during the first two weeks of the campaign. But the party's bleak admission eventually prompted many voters to assume that a vote for the NDP was a wasted vote. As support slipped, strategists began making a last-minute effort to recruit a few high-profile candidates. That plan largely worked. Candidates who wanted to register a protest vote gravitated towards those candidates because they felt comfortable with them.

On Saturday, May 24, as they perched at their polls, the Liberals rolled into the final phase of the campaign: the fight for their life in the West. Brien's natural anti-western bias had spilled support behind a homogeneous party that would assert a regional voice. In Atlantic Canada, with Charest poised to scoop up as many as 20 of the region's 32 seats—the Liberals had won 33 in 1993—few voters had faith in their flapping dollar of Mulroney being done there, partly because of their loathing of the Liberal's new blend of sideshow. In fact, the Liberals had to accept an ad slot that featured their cabinet team because news anchor Andrew Coyne, a vocal critic of the government, which, in turn, reminded them of their broken promise to scrap the GST.

In Quebec, the Tories, saddled with poor organization and many weak candidates, were winning. Boosted by Chretien's assertion that he would not recognize a "50-per-cent-plus-one" result as a sweeping referendum, the Tories' winning strategy was to attack the Liberals' record in Montreal areas—chasing Liberal jobs for no reason. In Ontario, opposition parties were picking away at Liberal support. Reform in central rural ridings, Tories in suburban Toronto, and New Democrats in downtown Toronto and the north.

Finally, senior Liberals honed their strategy. As their health-care and criminal-justice and Veterans' issues were being attacked, party workers would take little voters to the polls on election day. They let Reform hit itself in Ontario's hot electoral area of long-time Chretien and Charest's and the separatists destroyed their chief margin of support within central Ontario, cutting their most of the handful of seats that they had the potential to win.

Instead, the Liberals focused their attention on Charest's credibility. They argued that the issue of leadership was a



Liberal politician Marcelle. Her warnings that the voters could rebel against an early election were ignored.

Panicking Liberals attacked Charest's credibility

high priority for eight out of 10 potential Tory and Liberal voters, burned by past promises, they would not look at a platform unless they trusted a leader to implement it. In the last week of the campaign, provincial pundits attacked Charest's plans to transfer tax points to the provinces to pay for health and education, arguing that he would penalize poorer regions. When Charest countered that his critics were "lame," and when he now draws into an ill-fated record description of his relationship with Mulroney, the Liberals pointed to a co-ordinated attack.

Strongpoints were divided, however, about what issue Chretien should emphasize in the final days. Senator Michael Kirby urged that the emphasis be on health care. He recalled that national issue, especially Chretien's strong stand against the recognition of 50-per-cent-plus-one results in a referendum, would carry the day. Marcelle repeatedly stressed jobs. In the end, the party stuck to its economic message: the course with a Liberal majority—and the jobs will come. The Liberals inched back toward, after a percentage point at a time, in their internal polls. In the end, enough of the Liberal vote swayed for a slim majority. But the party has been chastened. And it is a sure bet that they will never, ever take their support for granted again. □

would create 350,000 new public sector jobs, with 350,000 more jobs to come by slicing four hours from the 39-hour work week—without anyone having to take a cut in pay.

Despite the impracticability of those proposals in a nation fighting a ballooning debt, voters bought it. Rejecting President Jacques Chirac's attempt to modernize the economy, they tossed the centre-right parliamentary coalition out on its assembly plans and gave the keys to the treasury back to the Socialist and the Communist party allies. In Canada, the Liberals found their re-election bid on their success in reducing the budget deficit. By the end of the French campaign, the desperate government was apologizing for even having tried. French voters looked at Canadian-style socialism—and chose nostalgia.

BRUCE WALLACE in London



Peter C. Newman

Voters' winning ways

maning!

After 30 days of thunder and lightning, the voters won the election.

The campaign may have been the dullist as recorded, but the results are electrifying. This turned out to be a contest in which the politics of the past—most very little and the rules of the future came to everything. In the 25 (15 hours) took 15 million Canadians to cast their ballots, something previously significant happened.

Faced with dreary alternatives, Canadians responded in precisely the right way. They rejected the Liberals, but without the comfortable certainty that would allow them to govern as they choose. Canadian voters granted them the most reluctant of concessions: a kind of oblique vote in the sense that people wanted we had to have a government, but did nothing to encourage them.

The obvious disillusionment with what was once Canada's "Government Party" was due in large measure to Jean Chretien's slipshod through the campaign. In two declining moments involved Chretien, and they were both downers. The first was a surprise day at Government House when, asked why he had called the election before his term was up, the Prime Minister had to consult his aides for an inadequate answer. The other was on May 22 in Halifax, where the Prime Minister opened the country's first commercial virtual reality simulation by cutting a virtual reality "ribbon" using a computer mouse. He had trouble working the tiny instrument and later apologized to reporters that he has never used a PC. Now, many observers aren't supposed to be backers, but just having an entry point into the world of RAMS, megabytes, e-mail and the Internet isolates you as a strategist to the point where you are almost sure you are not a work.

Being president's aide has nothing to do with age. Seniors, if ever before, have Canadian voters for what they already have, yet that was what they were asked to do this time. In past elections, the winning political leader offered a vision, or at least a plan, some sense of government towards a better tomorrow. The Liberals offered instead, and the fact that the voters responded with enough ballots to install the "Government Party" alone suggests says more about them than about Jean Chretien.

It is one of the ironies of the campaign that Chretien, whose only reason for calling the election was to perpetuate his power before it vanished completely, had pushed new or succeeding to say about national unity. As general minister before and after June 2, he ought to have made that his last priority. Now, the future of Canada hangs on the shoulders of the man who punched in the last Quebec referendum and weighed down the already cumbersome process of constitutional reform with regional votes that will make future changes next to impossible.

COVER

Gilles Duceppe's laissez-faire leadership style, plus the fact that Jacques Parizeau lived up to his reputation for taking his foot out of his mouth only long enough to make public statements, helped drive the Bloc's following. But it will be wrong and dangerous to conclude that Quebec separatism is a weak force. Lucien Bouchard remains the most dangerous politician in the land, and he will re-double his efforts at the confused federal scene to call an early provincial election.

Against all odds, the voters boosted the lanky Jean Chretien into the position of saving the Conservative party from oblivion, allowing him the higher profile that will make him the center of the next time out. Chretien's failure to achieve the dramatic break-through in Quebec that his robust campaign deserved flowed from the fact that the PC organization on the ground was not strong enough to sustain his personal momentum. There hasn't been a viable Tory constituency organization in Quebec since the turn of the last century.

Alexa McDonough's strong showing was particularly noteworthy, because the election could have marked the end of Canadian socialism. Her success in bringing out more than half a million voters proved that you can still run a political party, in this country at least, strictly on ideology. That's a refreshing change from the Democrats under Bill Clinton in the United States and Labour under Tony Blair in Britain, both of whom betrayed their parties' founding principles to bully their way into power.

That doesn't explain Preston Manning's impressive showing. Alone among the leaders, Manning ran a strictly party-oriented campaign, and stuck to his divorce, anti-Quebec neighborhood throughout. His black troops were hounded everywhere except in British Columbia and Alberta, so that the party seems to be sliding back to where it came from. Still, Preston Manning's leadership of Her Majesty's Liberal Opposition will be his greatest test: can he turn himself into a statesman, or will Reform remain a populist protest movement with a preacher as leader and a Christmas cake full of rules as followers.

The fact that Manning's hard-rock appeal was such a strong echo in British Columbia and Alberta will be the West he heard most loudly in the Golden Triangle (Ottawa-Montreal-Toronto) that still firmly rules this country. That's as it should be. But there is a warning implicit in Preston's western sweep. The overwhelming support for Manning's platform is not an accident. It accurately reflects the local state of mind.

The best thing about this election is that it has taught the Liberals a lesson. No party in a democracy ought to sit at governing comfortably. The fact that Canada's voters undermined that comfort zone for the party that will remain in office but not control is power is a triumph of public will. Long live the Canadian voter.

FRANCE TAKES A LEFT

Nothing illustrates the road traveled by Canadian voters in the 1990s as clearly as the contrasting result in the French election last week. In Canada, only Alexa McDonough's New Democrats won an economic growth tag, promising two million new jobs underwritten by about \$20 billion in good old-fashioned government spending. In France, where unemployment is nearly 13 per cent, the opposition Socialists campaigned for the June 1 parliamentary election as an even more generous economic platform. The difference was that the Socialists won.

At times, the stance in France sounded like Canada in the 1950s. The issue was still the solution to economic woes, the Socialists argued. Privatizations would end. And the government





Construction site in Halifax: analysts say Canada is poised for several years of growth

COVER

From Pain to Economic Gain

The budget-slashing era is almost over

BY ROSS LAVER

On the surface, not much has changed. The Liberals are back with a majority, the opposition is fractured. But in one respect, Jean Chrétien's second mandate priorities are radically different from his first—unless you, in fact, were the late 1990s. Within the next two years if present trends continue, the federal budget should cross over from deficit to surplus, a situation that last existed in 1979. The era of tax bites and spending cuts will be over. No longer compelled to play the role of grinch, the finance minister will confront a new challenge: Should Ottawa cut tax or raise spending—or both?

If that sounds too good to be true, wait—there's more. Economic forecasts here and abroad say that, barring any major surprises, Canada is poised for several years of robust economic growth, aided by low inflation, low interest rates and strong exports. Already the expansion can be seen in increased manufacturing activity, retail sales and housing starts. And before long, the pick-up in business and consumer confidence should start to make a dent in Canada's 14.9-per-cent unemployment rate. An April survey of 1,200 executives by Data & Briefstreet Canada found corporate hiring expectations higher than at any point since the 1990s boom. Another key indicator, Statistics Canada's index of help-wanted ads, has risen 17 per cent in the past year, a pace last seen in 1988.

In part, the economy's strength is an inevitable product of the bank rate cycle. But the positive outlook also owes much to Ottawa's suc-



cess in taming the deficit and the consequently improved view of Canada on international money markets. Two factors that have given rise to what some critics call a "virtuous circle." As the national balance sheet strengthens, investors gain confidence in the country's future. That bolsters the dollar and allows interest rates to fall, which in turn lowers Ottawa's cost of service for the \$593-billion federal debt. Low interest rates promote stronger growth and higher governmental revenues—causing the deficit to fall even faster.

The turnaround has been dramatic. From \$48 billion in 1993-1994, the deficit dropped to \$14.8 billion in the fiscal year that ended on March 31. John McCallum, the Royal Bank's chief economist, expects a \$6-billion shortfall in 1997-1998, followed a year later by a \$2-billion surplus. If Ottawa then left spending and taxes unchanged—an admittedly unlikely scenario—the accumulating surpluses would be enough to pay off the debt entirely by 2014.

McCallum's own view is that, once the deficit is eradicated, Ottawa will keep its budget roughly balanced through a blend of tax cuts and higher spending—both of which would fuel economic growth. Based on consumer survey assumptions—a eight per cent interest on the debt, two-per-cent inflation and three-per-cent growth in tax revenue—McCallum sees the debt declining to 30 per cent of GDP by 2008 from 74 per cent today. All the while, interest payments on the debt would be falling—enough, eventually, to cut personal income taxes in half or increase federal spending by a third relative to GDP. "Ultimately, we're entering a very different environment," McCallum says. "In the past, finance ministers had to convince Canadians to accept pain. In the future, the debate will be about how to distribute the gains."

What threatens this sunny forecast? The biggest single danger is another constitutional crisis, which would frighten off foreign investors and prompt the Bank of Canada to jek up interest rates to protect the dollar. An inflationary spark either here or in the United States, would also push up borrowing costs, forcing Ottawa to pay billions more in debt-servicing charges. Finally the U.S. economic expansion, now six years old, is getting a bit long in the tooth by historic standards, and some analysts argue that it runs on a mountain of consumer debt. If the United States goes into an economic slump, Canada is sure to be dragged down with it.

Those are the risks, but the overall picture is bright. By the time the next referendum rolls around, Ottawa may well boast a balanced budget and be on a position to start cutting taxes. If so, the prospect of independence—and all the uncertainty that implies—will likely have less appeal to the 30 per cent of francophone whom politicians call "soft nationalists." For the Liberals, that is still in the mix for opportunity—but it remains the fact that a tax cut at the next general election.

FEDERAL DEBT (% of GDP)



FISCAL PAYOFF (% of GDP)



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Bruce Shook, 46, an insider for BC Tel. "The days of Trudeau and Mulroney are long over."

Commentator Robert Bodwell, professor of history at the University of Toronto, agreed that the level of this year's debate was poor—and that the quality of the participants was the main reason. With the exception of Jean Charest, Bodwell said the leaders were "like kids on their first debate—the object was just to stay alive." But he was even less inspired by the parties' advertising. Some TV ads by the Reform party were targeted, he said, while the Liberals were patronizing, and at least one Tory entry was so lacking in detail as to be "just staged."

AMONG THE ISSUES Many pundits complained about the overall quality of discussion during the campaign. Issues, large and small, were not thoroughly explored, many said, and some—such as child care and the environment—were ignored almost completely.

In many ways, they noted, the campaign was far too superficial. "Most of the time, we spent talking about the strengths and weaknesses of the different party leaders," observed Valerie Snowdon, 54, an administrative assistant who lives in the riding of Calgary West. "I would like to see more all-candidates meetings and fewer photo opportunities—no more 'baby kissing'!" Some pundits said part of the problem was the short time: six weeks, five weeks, they said, is not enough time to mull over the problems facing the country. Others, however, said that the leaders were the ones at fault, picking too many of the hard questions on, to the chagrin of the opposition parties, coming up with easy answers they knew would never be tested. One way to combat those problems, some suggested, would be to allow more direct voices on questions of key importance. "I think that is where your vote can really count," said Eric Ross, 34, a corporate business manager who lives in Halifax. "That's the direct action. You can see the results."

A HOUSE DIVIDED Most pundits predict that Parliament will remain its fractured makeup for some time to come, but many seem confident about its impact on the country's future. A number believe little will change under any scenario. "They are stuck in their ways," says secretary Marjolaine Ennass of NDP. The 33-year-old, who lives in the Montreal-area riding of Brossard/La Prairie, added: "There's not much we can do about it. It's been like that for so long—it's like an old pair of shoes." Minister Mark De Jong, 38, who lives in the riding of Calgary West, echoed the views of many pundits who said they are considerable nearly in minority governments, which may become a fact of life with so many parties splitting the vote. "In some ways, I think that a minority government is the most effective way to represent voters," De Jong said. "It may be a way to really hash out the issues." On the other hand, he noted that a vote for a regional party is often a strategic, so-called protest vote. "I don't think that people in the West really want Preston Manning to be prime minister, but if he had an effective voice, that would be enough," he explained.

National affairs journalist Ron Leibel, a *Maclean's* panel expert, said that many voters are frustrated because Canada's Parliament—originally designed for the two-party system—is not working well with five parties, each of them enjoying nearly re-

COVER

gional support. He predicted, however, that there may be fewer parties five years from now, since it is difficult for a party to survive simply as a regional project group. Nevertheless, minority governments may become commonplace in the future, he said, and that could lead to a raft of problems, such as heavy government spending to ensure popularity and a general reluctance to propose controversial measures. "The risk can place a check on arrogance and abuse of power," he added.

FIVE SOLITUDES With five major parties, and five increasingly divided regions, some Canadians worry that the country is becoming even more difficult to govern. For some, however, that regional emphasis is long overdue. Says British Columbia's Shott, "The West is a tax base. The country is ruled by Ontario, the vote is swung by Quebec. The Atlantic provinces and anything west of the Lakehead is not served by Parliament." But even some of the most committed regionalists still seemed to harbor strong feelings for the country. Benoît Bouchard, 30, who describes himself as a Quebec nationalist, says he would be happy to be part of Canada under certain circumstances. "I'm fine in this big country," says the insurance broker who lives in the Brossard/La Prairie riding. "We could reverse federalism by decentralizing rising things and giving each province a distinct society status."

But more than a few pundits are deeply concerned about what may lie ahead. Senator Anita Jagod, 56, who lost in Toronto's St. Paul's riding, is disturbed by what she views as drastic changes in the political landscape. "It's not a Canada anymore," she says. "It's an Ontario, a West, a Quebec. It's coming to be like a backsliding therapy. It's very unproductive, and it costs a lot."

But commentator Michael Hawlett, professor of political science at Simon Fraser University, said that the growth in the number of parties may not necessarily be a problem, since it gives a voice to regional concerns that tend to be drowned out in the age of globalisation. The system can work, he suggests, so long as at least one party is addressing national concerns and the others are willing to brood. "If they are totally divisive, then it's not a great thing," he said. "But if they are willing to compromise, then you are ensuring that regional grievances are articulated and that they will be part of any solutions that are arrived at." □

The *Maclean's* panel responses were compiled with the participation of experts and students at five universities. *By Mahter, Stephen Norberg, dean of journalism at King's College, was assisted by Ben Pamela Corbett and Jenni Roddick-Lewis. Lindsay Ogilvie, director of journalism at Concordia University, and national affairs journalist Ron Leibel assisted Jean-François Rioux and David Goodwill at Montreal. University of Toronto history professor Robert Dahlwood was assisted by Katherine Rasmussen and Jim Phang. At the University of Calgary, political science professor Keith Archer oversaw the work of Carey Anne Hall and Mark Kuch. At Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., Michael Hawlett, professor of political science, and John Richards, professor of business, were assisted by Russell LaPointe and Colleen Webber.*



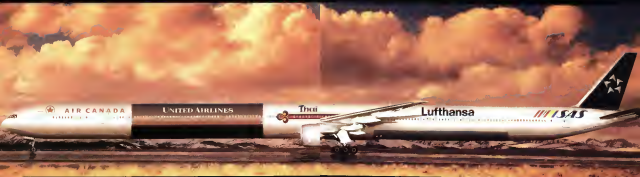
Jean Charest: a call for less centralization

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Arrests on the high seas

Tensions rise in the West Coast fish fight

Do the fish care who catches them or where?

The thought of the day, scribbled on a board in front of Vancouver's Alcazar Cafe, pulled less at all the heated rhetoric. But the long-simmering feud between Canada and the United States over access to endangered West Coast salmon stocks was in fact moving perilously close last week to all-out diplomatic war. Elements from both sides at the border escalated their pressure tactics after Pacific Salmon Treaty negotiations between the two countries, aimed at equitably sharing fish harvests, collapsed on May 20. To the consternation of some U.S. officials, B.C. Premier Glen Clark refused to back down from a series of measures aimed at avoiding a deal from the Americans before the salmon-fishing season opens later this month. "Canada has to turn up the heat," Clark said after meeting Washington Gov. Gary Locke in Seattle in an attempt to defuse the crisis. "It cannot back down."

At the heart of the dispute are Canadian claims that U.S. fishermen take an unfair share of salmon returning to B.C. spawning grounds. The Pacific Salmon Treaty, signed by the two countries in 1985, says each nation is entitled "to receive benefits equivalent to the production of salmon originating in its own waters." According to Canadian officials, while Canadian fishermen have reduced their catch of salmon originating in the United States by 30 per cent under the treaty, U.S. boats have increased their take of Canadian stock by more than 50 per cent. "The lack of resolve on the American part," says B.C. Fisheries Minister Carley Evans, "is simply because, in the absence of a treaty, they are able to catch our fish with abandon."

The Canadian side has blamed Alaskan



U.S. boat Christine under arrest. Clark (left) "Canada cannot back down"

fishermen, who catch large numbers of Canadian sockeye and coho, for much of the imbalance so far. But this year, with the Fraser River sockeye run in southern British Columbia expected to exceed 30 million fish—compared with just five million last year—local fishermen fear that crews from Washington state will grab an excessive proportion of the catch. The U.S. side, disputing Canada's interpretation, opened the latest negotiations by demanding more Canadian salmon while asking Canada to catch less. But fisheries are volatile—rather than federal responsibility in the United States, and its negotiators have not presented a position that unites divergent interests of fishermen

from Alaska and the Pacific Northwest. Three days after the latest talks broke down, with Canadian negotiators accusing their American counterparts of bad-faith bargaining, Clark launched his first salvo in the new salmon war on May 25. Flanked by cheering fishermen on Vancouver's waterfront, the NDP premier announced plans to cancel an agreement with the department of national defence that in turn allows the U.S. navy to test torpedoes off the east coast of Vancouver Island. Since then, Clark has called on the federal government to impose a \$1,500 transit fee on U.S. fishing boats passing through the Inside Passage between Vancouver Island and the mainland, as it did temporarily in 1994. (Prime Minister Mulroney took no immediate action.) And the premier applauded the strict federal enforcement of a law requiring all foreign vessels entering Canadian waters to notify the Canadian Coast Guard and to store all fishing gear.

Last week, in the first use of the new regu-



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CANADA

before since they came into effect last year, the coast guard intercepted four U.S. fishing vessels bound for Alaska and escorted them to Port Hardy, on Vancouver Island. Their captains were fined \$200 each. Based on down three of the vessels, provincial court Judge Bruce Swenson told the bewildered droppers: "Someone just turned the heat up under you, gentlemen, and you are the pawns." Throughout the week, Canadian officials insisted they were merely enforcing the existing law—well pointed out that Alaska requires Canadian citizens to follow the same procedure.

But the Americans, too, cranked up the rhetoric. The Canadian strategy "created an atmosphere inimical to progress in these talks and subjected to criteria to find a solution to the Pacific salmon dispute," complained state department spokesman Nicholas Burns. Following the arrests, the U.S. government cancelled a previously announced plan to resume the talks, saying its negotiators would wait "until a more favorable climate for discussions can be achieved." Alaska Gov. Tony Knowles, meanwhile, accused Canada of engaging in "outright dishonesty." And Frank Mawhood, a Republican senator from Alaska, urged the U.S. Coast Guard to begin escorting U.S. vessels through the Inside Passage.

But for all its agency on the West Coast, the problem was hardly front burner material in Washington. President Bill Clinton "hasn't paying much attention to it," said a source close to the U.S. administration. "The state department is keeping its eye on things, but that is way down the list of priorities." That attitude dampens chances of a quick resolution, says Christopher Smith, head of the Canadian Institute of Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "There will be more screaming and yelling," said Smith, "and I'm afraid it will have to get worse before it gets better."

The lack of White House interest also suggested that Washington was unlikely to take Clark up on his proposal to speak directly to Clinton if that would help bring the two sides together. But Clark's tough stance, which recovered the backing of the other three western governors, struck a positive chord with many British Columbians. "The solution is very clear to us in British Columbia," some of them said. "We need University of Victoria political scientist. Perhaps not," said I think Clark is sensitive to that." Jim Sinclair, Vancouver-based vice president of the 6,000-member United Fishermen & Allied Workers' Union, supported the protesters' aggressive stance. "If we don't fight, we're lost," said Sinclair. "If we do fight, we might win—at least get the compromise we need."

SCOTT STEELE is in Vancouver with KILLIAN LOWMYER in Washington.

Canada NOTES

A STRONGER VOICE

The four western premiers met in Campbell River, B.C., for their annual conference—and said their provincial representatives must be given a greater role in international trade negotiations. Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon, speaking on behalf of the premiers, said Ottawa often argues that it has sole jurisdiction over trade pacts, but it is the provinces that often bear the brunt of these agreements. The western premiers also want to create a government agency to oversee Trans Canada trade missions.

DANGEROUS DRUGS?

The federal auditor general's department announced that it will examine Health Canada's drug approval process. The statement came after a Toronto Globe and Mail article alleged that human and veterinary drugs have been routinely approved—while questions about their possibly dangerous side-effects have been ignored.

NO TO GENDER EQUALITY

Residents of Canada's Eastern Arctic region, which will become the territory of Nunavut on April 1, 1999, voted against gender parity for their provincial-level legislation. Fifty-seven percent of those who participated in the plebiscite (the turnout was 39 per cent) cast their ballots against the idea of having an equal number of men and women representatives.

BUSTED IN MONTREAL

The RCMP in Montreal announced that they had broken up an international money-laundering and hashish-smuggling ring. Thirty-one people, most of them Montreal-area businessmen, were arrested in the operation, with other arrests outside of Canada to follow. Police said that during the lengthy investigation, more than 8,000 kg of hashish, with a value of \$53 million, had been seized.

ZUNDLIEF'S WEB

The federal Human Rights Commission said it would hear the case against Holocaust denier Ernst Zundlief, who has been accused of spreading hatred against Jews through his California-based Internet site. Zundlief's lawyer, Doug Christie, has argued that the commission does not have jurisdiction over the Internet. The case will open on Oct. 14.



BRIDGING THE GAP:

About 30,000 people walked or ran across Confederation Bridge to inaugurate the 13-km link between Prince Edward Island and mainland Canada. It was the first and last time pedestrians will be allowed on the \$1-billion bridge that spans the Northumberland Strait. The flood link opened to motorists on May 31. While some Islanders mourned their lost sense of isolation, others who made the trek celebrated. "I feel we're truly connected now," said 73-year-old Elmer Phillips of Charlottetown. "I met people from Montreal and I know they were French and I was awful happy to talk to them. We're all together now—now a happy family."

A hospital mystery deepens

First came the May 7 first-degree murder charge against respirologist Dr. Nancy Morrison in the death of terminally ill cancer patient Paul Mills—and the subsequent word that police were investigating other incidents at Health Sciences Centre. Then, last week came the news that Morrison, 41, had implicated an unnamed colleague in another possible homicide, bringing to light the number of suspicious deaths at the hospital now under police scrutiny. That revelation was made by Crown prosecutor Craig Butterfield before the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, which heard arguments from seven organizations seeking access to

medical search warrants relating to the Morrison case. Butterfield argued that the warrants should remain closed because releasing them would make public the name of a hospital in-fact and compromise the police investigation. But in the course of that discussion, he also reminded that Morrison had accused a colleague of murder but refused to identify the doctor. Chief Justice Justice Clarence Gibeau, who was forced to adjourn Butterfield and tell him that the hearing was not an appropriate place for such evidence, later ruled that opening the search warrants would not hinder the investigation. The search warrants were given by Arthur Macdonell, another respirologist at the hospital.

Investigating an 'incestuous relationship'

Federal Justice Minister Allan Rock ordered an investigation into assistant deputy justice minister Ted Thompson's dealings with Federal Court Chief Justice Justice Iacobucci. Last year, it was revealed that Thompson and Iacobucci privately to compare about the slow pace of hearings against three alleged war criminals—raising concerns about the court's impartiality. Now, a May 10, 1996, memo by Ottawa's chief enforcement officer, Christopher Armstrong, laid out a few questions with its complaints of Thompson and Iacobucci's "incestuous relationship," the extent of which could lead the public to think that the two men were in a "incestuous relationship."

June 21 National Aboriginal Day

Share in the Celebration

On June 15, 1996, Governor General Borden-LeBlanc proclaimed June 21 as National Aboriginal Day. The Royal Proclamation stated that, "...the Aboriginal peoples of Canada have made and continue to make valuable contributions to Canadian society and it is considered appropriate that there be, on each year, a day to mark and celebrate these contributions and to recognize the different cultures of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada."

The designation of this day recognizes the contributions of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people to the development of Canada. It also supports the United Nations International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1994-2004).

The federal government is encouraging all Canadians to celebrate, learn about, and honour Aboriginal peoples' cultural heritage on June 21.

The images in this photo montage reflect the diversity of Aboriginal peoples' cultures past and present.

- An archival photo of Inuit women wearing caribou skin clothing in a Inuit music from 1931.
- An Inuit woman wearing a parka, a traditional parka, designed and produced by Inuit women on Hudson's Bay in the Northwest Territories.
- The Métis sash, a traditional item of clothing that today symbolizes the pride and honour of the Métis people, who helped to foster understanding between European and Aboriginal peoples.
- First Nations children participating in a powwow, a type of celebration that is held by First Nations across North America.
- An archival photograph of Chief Frankenstein, the respected nineteenth century leader of the Plains Cree people.

National Aboriginal Day is a day for all Canadians. Share in the celebration this year and every year!

For further information, telephone (811) 997-0330
Web site: <http://www.nac.gc.ca>



Sex, lies and the President

Clinton faces new woes over an embarrassing lawsuit

Ever since Bill Clinton's first campaign for the U.S. presidency in 1992, sleaze and scandal have tracked him like vengeful dogs snapping at a runner's heels. At various times, he has been accused of dope smoking, questionable financial dealings, draft-dodging and repeated wassailing. Until last week, largely because of his undiminished popularity and endless White House damage control, Clinton seemed to have escaped serious harm from the personal and partisan attacks on his personal morality. Then, the U.S. Supreme Court dragged a bookie in an unprecedented rebuke to a president, the same justices unanimously ruled that a sexual harassment suit against Clinton by a former Arkansas state employee does not have to be delayed until after he leaves office in 2001. The President's political life is poised. "No one in America is above the law, period," said House Speaker Newt Gingrich, himself the recent target of a sex ethics probe.

For Clinton, the suit by Paula Jones for \$1 million in damages is the latest in a string of embarrassments that began early in the 1990s campaign. But the pursuit of vindication by the 39-year-old Jones, now living in California with her husband and two children, may be the most formidable challenge yet to Clinton's composure, the loyalty of his Democratic allies and his chances of being taken seriously at home and abroad. For now, the Supreme Court decision issues the Jones case back to Judge Susan Walker Wright in the U.S. district court in Arkansas, where Clinton will have 30 days to answer the complaint against him. At that point, the process takes over and the warring parties will find themselves headed towards a distant trial date. But neither side would benefit from two or more years of public anatomy and worded headlines. All Jones wants is her money and some form of apology from Clinton. Legal experts believe a settlement cannot be far off—although whatever terms a suit is likely to be paid for the President and his family.

The incident at the heart of the case occurred on May 8, 1991, during a trade show at the Eisenhower Hotel in Little Rock, Ark., sponsored by the governor's office. Jones, then 26, was among those representing the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, and she later said that Clinton kept looking at her as he toured the exhibits. In a subsequent interview with Washington Post reporter Michael Isidore, Jones said that at about 2:30 in the afternoon, she was approached by state trooper Duway Ferguson, who asked if she would accompany him to the governor's suite. When she asked what Clinton wanted, the trooper replied: "It's OK, we do this all the time for the governor." Jones said she hoped the governor would give her a job, so she went.

Once in the suite, she found herself alone with Clinton who, she said, told her how much he liked her hair and her "curves." She according to her account, he then fondled her legs and caressed her "I will never forget the look on his face," she told Isidore. "His face was just red, beet red." "What are you doing?" she demanded, pushing Clinton away from her. At that point, she said, Clinton sat on a sofa, pulled down his trousers, showed his erect penis and said "Wow." Jones claims she was

horrified and said, "Look, I'm not that kind of girl." According to her, Clinton said: "Well, I don't want to make you do anything you don't want to do." Although she was upset, she says she noticed a "fading, glowing characteristic" about Clinton's profile before he pulled up his trousers and told her not to mention the episode to anyone. Jones says she fled from the room and immediately informed her family and close friends. But she decided not to make a formal complaint because she feared that she would lose her job.

A year after Clinton was elected president, *The American Spectator*, a right-wing magazine strongly opposed to Clinton, published a long series of interviews with his former state police bodyguard, Severn, and that as governor, Clinton had had numerous extramarital affairs and they had frequently been used to procure women for him. They named a number of women, including one called "Paula." Reporters tracked down Paula Jones and there soon was local speculation that she had been Clinton's mistress. Jones, in turn, sought



Jones, a White House aide called her "trader trash"



Clinton sees a settlement in duty to his people

legal advice on how best to clear his name and was introduced to some high-powered conservative Republican lawyers. She is currently represented by Washington attorneys Joseph Cananaris and Gilbert Horns, a Republican running for state attorney general of Virginia. Late in the week, Davis accused the White House of trying to smear him as a Democratic consultant; he refused a videotape showing him talking suggestively to a woman in a hotel room. Davis said the 1994 tape was old news.

From the beginning, Jones's sally onto the tabloid stage has not been pleasant. Newspapers and TV information shows of all sorts have portrayed her as a poorly educated, slowly retreating with a defense reputation who had fallen under the control of fringe campaigners. The White House mounted an effective publicity campaign to discredit her. Washington adviser James Carville

called her "trader trash." Clinton himself has denied her charges and says he doesn't recall meeting her. Meanwhile, Clinton's legal team, led by Robert Bennett, had asked for tactics designed to stall Jones's case. In their appeal to the Supreme Court, they argued in vain that all presidents are just too busy to deal with civil suits and should be immune from hostile litigation until they leave office. Bennett is expected to ask for the case to be dismissed on the grounds that even if the allegations were true, Clinton did not violate Jones's civil rights, which is the basis of her claim. This will cause an other month's delay, but legal experts do not expect Wright to agree. Whether in the past she has indicated a belief that the President may indeed be too busy to deal with the case until he leaves office, she has also said it should be possible to take disposition at once, before numerous other legal hurdles.

The betting is the legal community is in the disposition will be taken before the end of the summer, but that Clinton continues to press for delay the case may not be heard until the end of his term. Stalling may be costly, however. For one thing, the case will hang over the President like a cloud and may diminish his effectiveness not only in dealing with Congress but with world leaders. Moreover, Hillary Rodham Clinton, said to be in love with the whole idea, is worried that if the case is not cleared up soon, the 10-year-old daughter Chelsea will become the butt of jokes when she starts attending Stanford University in September.

The disposition—the next step—are likely to be looked by one side or the other. Jones's lawyers have indicated they will seek to prove a pattern of conduct on the part of Clinton by taking statements from all the bodyguards and the other women with whom the President is said to have been involved. Under questioning, Clinton is sure to be asked by Jones's lawyers about the "fading, glowing characteristic" in his genital area and they will likely demand that the area be photographed for the court records. Neither Jones nor her lawyers have offered documents.

The two sides cannot reach a settlement until the case goes to trial, says Republican pollster Barbara Barlow. "Every time he goes up to Capitol Hill, every time he meets another world leader, he will be looking for the smirk behind the smile." But Clinton would not be the only loser if the case goes to court. Phillip Key, a Washington attorney who speaks in a neutral, businesslike voice, says that Jones "is going to get dragged through a legal process pulled forward the time and shored under a beat and mired under a bed of coral." Yet settlement talks may be some way off, while now is the time for posturing. "The President and I don't that some very nasty and malicious and false allegations have been made against me," says Bennett, "and we look forward to our day in court."

Cananaris said, however, the President was prepared two years ago to state that "while I don't recall Paula Jones, I don't deny his claim that she was in the room at the Eisenhower Hotel," that deal fell through because the two sides could not agree on the precise wording. Now, Davis, Jones's lead lawyer, has signalled that his client is open to further negotiations. "We would be looking for some kind of admission and something that could be interpreted as an apology," he says. Several legal authorities agree that a settlement is likely. Clinton wants a "private regime," says Republican campaign co-chair Jay Byrd, "and he doesn't want it to be Paula Jones."

RAE CORRELL with WILLIAM LOVETT in Washington

Paula Jones says she just wants to clear her name

A moderate takes charge

Iran's dreaded gun-toting mullahs were out in force last week on the broad tree-lined avenues of middle-class north Tehran. Women who dared flash stretch clothing or use a flash of lipstick were lectured on their "bandwidth" by the mostly teenage bony Ayatollahs sporting a New York Yankees baseball cap and Nike shoes had by Spice Girls cassette confiscated when he pulled up at a traffic light.

It was a clear warning from the hide-bound religious conservatives who have ruled Iran for 18 years: don't expect the stunning landslide victory of a moderate middle-ranking clergyman in the May 26 presidential election to bring any sudden changes. Yet nothing could dampen the mood of euphoria and relief sweeping Iran in the wake of the biggest political upset since Ayatollah Khomeini ousted the pro-American shah in 1979. Many Iranians are

convinced it is a turning point in Iran's Islamic Revolution. "People here still can't quite believe what they have done," said a European diplomat in Tehran. "They never thought the establishment would allow their man to win."

Then came Khatami, a charismatic former culture minister, only named the media race in March. As one of four permitted candidates, he was given no chance against the establishment's choice, Ali Akbar Nateq-Nouri, whose powerful position as parliamentary speaker had guaranteed him prime-time television coverage for several



Khatami, tolerant, but as liberal as the Western world

years. But it was a case of familiarity breeding contempt. Nateq-Nouri had campaigned on a ticket of close observation of the late Ayatollah Khomeini's line on all issues, including the strict dress code and

implacable opposition to the "Great Satan," America. That New York little support for most women, or the nearly half of Iran's 66-million population born after 1979. With revolutionary fervor inevitably flagging, many Iranians now long for color, excitement—and some of the Great Satan's cultural trappings. Even in sequestered southern Tehran, families who cannot understand English began the passing of the country's satellite dish that gave them access to such forbidden fruits as Baywatch. Khatami, 54, has hinted that the ban on satellite dishes, deemed to lead people from the pure paths of the revolution, might be lifted.

His tolerant message attracted a broad range of Iranian writers and artists loudly recalled his 1995 tenure as the culture ministry as a "golden era" when cinema flourished and creators worked their passions with caution. That era had disappeared when Nateq-Nouri's faction forced Khatami's resignation in 1997, branding him a "perestroika" influence. His left-wing economic agenda, meanwhile, adored the urban poor for whom years of mismanagement and high inflation has meant that most were better off under the shah. "At least then I could afford to buy chicken once a week for my family," said a civil servant recent to moonlight as a taxi driver to make ends meet.

Khatami was fully 60 per cent of the vote, to the speaker's paltry 25 per cent. But foreign envoys, and Iranian analysts caution the outside world not to expect swift changes in Iran's behavior. While Khatami advocates more personal freedom, democracy and the rule of law, he is a loyal servant of the revolution and as liberal as the Western world. The president's position is also a harbinger of Iran's future: the leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who is

there are cautious grounds for optimism that Khatami, dubbed "Ayatollah Gorbachev" by some diplomats, will gradually steer his country on a more moderate path. That could persuade Washington to reduce its hostility, rooted in accusations of Iran's support for terrorism and weapons proliferation. Moreover, Iran's moderate faction, which worries that falling living standards are undermining the Islamic regime, has long reckoned that Western investment and know-how is required to fully exploit the country's huge oil and gas reserves.

In his battle with the hardliners, Khatami will enjoy the support of the like-minded outgoing president, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, who will officially pass the torch in August. Khatami was expected to appoint Rafsanjani's daughter, Farah Hashemi, 30, as the Islamic regime's first woman cabinet member. The ambitious Rafsanjani, who reached his constitutional limit of two four-year terms, will take on a powerful role as head of an expanded advisory body, the Expediency Council. Working in tandem, Rafsanjani and Khatami should be a major force against the conservatives. But the Spice Girls need not hurry to book a tour date in Tehran just yet.

NICHOLAS THROCKMOLTO in Moscow

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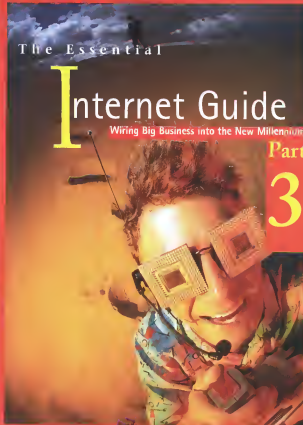
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JOHN ROTH: President & Chief Operating Officer, Nortel (Northern Telecom)

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JOHN ROTH

A leading voice for the Internet community in Canada and the U.S.

What do you see as the future of business on the Internet?
As we solve security issues, I believe that a lot of electronic commerce will move to the Net. In the case of electronic shopping, for example, the Net can help me evaluate products from different vendors. I can scan electronic catalogues, look at video clips of how to install, use or repair products, or do other things to help me make choices quickly and buy the product I want. This ability will make life easier for customers. The key to this is to have the security in place to be able to conduct reliable financial transactions on the Internet. Nortel's Envisant product is one of the keys that will solve that problem. As it gets broadly deployed, Envisant will allow commerce to move onto the Net in a big way.

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In *NetPersonalities* we'll get the wired thoughts of some of Canada's top business brass, CEOs who have embraced technology and know where it's heading. In addition, ISDN and faster bandwidth will be explained.

To round things off, we'll make a pit stop at our picks of the Top 20 Biz Sites on the Net, through which you can do everything from booking a business trip and checking on the stock market to e-mailing an old crony or playing an involving game of Doom.

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FRED WARDLE: Publisher & CEO,
Cepp Clark Professional

Why do you think it’s important for businesses to go online? Important for businesses to go online? “Hello, my name’s Graham Bell, can I interest you in my communications thing?” No?”

*How has your Net connection helped your business? We’ve had a Web site for about 18 months (www.ceppclark.com). It’s not polished but it provides visitors with a lot of links to Canadian information sites with separate pages for association listings and our most popular environmental sites. We sell a few of our own information products this way, probably enough to make it pay its way, and everybody here gets a chance to personalize a weekly quirky info page. The importance for us is in finding ways to present our particular indexing and information-synthesizing techniques to the community. Our flagship, *Canadian Almanac & Directory*, has been providing this kind of service in print form for 150 years. We believe that, someday soon, we may be able to provide an Internet indexing service, so we view the Net as critical to our long-range business development.*

NetPersonalities

FRED WARDLE

... because the Net is crucial to our long-range business development.



What do you see as the future of business on the Internet?

I just bought a book from amazon.com. I did it as a test because I have been deeply involved in Canadian copyright activity and I truly want to strengthen the Canadian book distribution system and protect author/publisher rights. I bought their featured book-of-the-week that fit with a current interest and that I had never seen in Canada, a book that was delivered to my office within 10 days by regular post. A hard-cover that after postage and exchange cost me about 10% less than the Canadian price given on the dust jacket. I never left my office through this process. End of story.

NetPersonalities



ELLIE RUBIN:
President, The Building Group Inc.

The Internet is growing fast. Do you think too fast? I guess being in the software business, “too fast” is not really a term that comes into play very often. Whenever I hear people suggesting that the Internet is happening too quickly, I am convinced that the messenger of this particular message has somehow temporarily forgotten the human element that is still the driving force in business today. Companies do not suddenly feel overwhelmed by a new technology, or feel pressured to adopt technology without a lot of careful consideration and strategic as well as tactical plans for implementing and integrating technology into their existing business. If they are not doing this, then they will bump up against their own structural limitations so quickly that it is almost a self-protecting mechanism. In short, too fast? I don’t think so. In fact, some technologists don’t think it’s happening fast enough.

How has your Net connection helped your business? We are a software company whose product is focused on the creation, repositioning and redistribution of all kinds of media files through channels like the Web as well as other networks. Given that, the Net is absolutely crucial to our marketing efforts, to channeling sales information, our VMI program effectively supporting all information transfers.

What do you see as the future of business on the Internet? This is the big question. First of all, content is king. From a business standpoint, and probably for education and entertainment as well, I think you are going to start seeing a real shift, as we have seen in many other media industries over the years. That shift is ultimately about what people want and what people are often willing to pay for. And when you get down to it, it’s about content. Access, ease of use, graphic appeal, structural soundness, depth of information is what most people, especially within a business context, are looking for. This will greatly affect the kind of services people sign up for, and the pricing of them. It will also start to set some parameters for who will win the race, whatever that race may be. Ultimately, the future of the Internet will be how it works in conjunction with the next great communication channel that evolves from this converging world of technology, business and design. I am looking forward to it.



GERRI SINCLAIR: President & CEO,
NCompass Labs Director,
ExCITE Centre at Simon Fraser University

Why do you think it's important for businesses to go online?
Internet technologies are maturing to the point that businesses must seriously consider developing an online strategy to support and extend their current business models as well as their marketing and communications strategies. The Web has become a very important medium that can be used by businesses to increase brand awareness and expand customer support and service. Using Web-based multimedia technologies, corporations no longer have to worry about the limitations of print campaigns, or the time constraints of broadcast media. Many companies have been using their Web sites as a means to address customer support and service concerns, engaging in a two-way dialogue with their customers, and offering answers to frequently asked questions before they arise.



How has your Net connection helped your business?
As a high-tech company that develops software for the Internet and Intranet markets, NCompass simply cannot exist without an Internet connection. As a fledgling start-up with our roots in the ExCITE Centre at Simon Fraser University, NCompass was both born and bred on the Net. By releasing our product on the Internet and taking advantage of the powerful marketing potential of the Web, we were able to create sufficient awareness and brand awareness that we were able to spin out our technology from the university and become a commercial venture in our own right. Not only is the Internet our advertising, marketing, sales and communications tool, it serves as our warehouse, storefront and customer service centre as well.



What do you see as the future of business on the Internet?
Internet users need to change their perception of the Internet as something more than a place to "browse" and more as a place that can accommodate business development and commerce. First, most commerce on the Web today is limited to online magazines, adult entertainment and consumer products such as books, CDs, and computer hardware and software — "brochureware." Now advances in e-commerce transaction processes, and security technologies, and more rapid response times will, however, soon make

it possible to conduct real business on the Internet. New "push" media and agent technologies are emerging that allow consumers to choose which products they wish to learn about, while they assist businesses in targeting specific customers for their products and services. There is no question that the Internet will continue to provide better and better opportunities for us to learn, to entertain ourselves, as well as to conduct business.

ALLISTER C. PATERSON: Vice-President Sales,
North America, Canadian Airlines International Ltd.
Vice-President Detario(Atlantic Canada)

The Internet is growing fast. Do you think too fast?
The Internet is not growing fast enough. Given the cost and convenience advantages offered by online communication, more people worldwide should be using it. The technology is progressing well, but people's reluctance to embrace change is limiting the advancement of the medium.

How has your Net connection helped your business?
It is helping in two main ways. First, our company is improving both our internal communication and our product communication with customers. Second, about 20 per cent of our costs today relate to finding, booking and ticketing a passenger. With the Internet, physical limitations on product access (paper tickets, storefront shopping) are being removed, saving time and money. These are precious commodities for our customers.



What do you see as the future of business on the Net?
People do business with people, and this will remain key in future commerce. Internet technology will be pervasive in business transactions, primarily overcoming traditional marketing channels that are cumbersome or expensive. It is really impossible to gauge how far the Internet will go at this point,

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World NOTES

STRIKE IN SIERRA LEONE

The United States airlifted more than 900 foreigners from the West African state of Sierra Leone amid high tension in the wake of a coup. Many who left said militant troops had ransacked their homes and threatened to kill them and their children. Lower-ranking soldiers earlier ousted elected President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah and joined forces with Marxist rebels in the country. Nigerian and Guinean troops, who had backed Kabbah against the insurgency, threatened a counterattack.

GAINS IN INDONESIA

Although it was assured of victory, Indonesia's ruling party gained an unexpectedly high 74 percent of the vote in parliamentary elections. The campaign was marred by the worst election violence in the 30-year regime of President Suharto. While the voting was considered fair, the government closely controlled the political process. Suharto barred popular opposition figure Megawati Sukarnoputri from running.

KILLER TORNADO IN TEXAS

A tornado killed 27 people and devastated the small central Texas town of Jarvis. The twister cut a swath of destruction through the community of 600, leaving many homeless. As the town grieved, local pastor Max Johnson said the only good in the storm was that "it kind of reminds us of how temporary we are."

AFGHAN TURNAROUND

Madrasi Islamic guerrillas made surprising gains against Afghanistan's longtime ruling Taliban forces. The Taliban had seemed on the verge of capturing the northern opposition stronghold of Mazar-i-Sharif, but were driven back by the moderates. Later, the two sides battled for control of another town just 56 km from Kabul, the capital.

RECORD SINGAPORE LIMEL

A Singapore judge awarded Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong and 10 party colleagues record fine damages of \$5 million against an opposition politician who called them liars. The judge said they were justified in calling Teo Leng Hong "an anti-English, anti-Chinese, anti-Christian Chinese character," while his opponents were "intellectuals." Teo had fled Singapore, but said he would appeal. The government has also charged him with tax evasion.



HISTORIC FLIGHT:

Linda Finch, a 44-year-old Texas businesswoman, waves to the crowd that greeted her after she completed a 45,000-km round-the-world adventure that aviation pioneer Amelia Earhart never finished. Finch flew a gleaming twin-engine Lockheed Electra, the same model Earhart piloted when she disappeared on her flight 60 years ago. The re-creation of Earhart's attempt to circumnavigate the globe at the equator was almost exact, right down to taking off from the same hangar on the same date—March 17. Others have completed the flight, but not in the same aircraft. "I feel a bit like Dorothy from the Wizard of Oz," Finch said. "I followed my own yellow brick road in the sky."

A snowball's chance—in space

Domestic satellite images of house-sized snowballs from space that constantly pelt the Earth have forced scientists to rethink theories explaining the origins of life on the planet. Levin Frank, a University of Iowa physicist who had been ridiculed over his "Chickens' Little" theory in the past, presented the new findings at a meeting of the American Geophysical Union. Frank said millions of objects that he called snowballs—and which were assembly dubbed "space balls"—strike the Earth's atmosphere every year, adding to the planet's water cycle and perhaps delivering the organic chemicals that originally led to life.

Pictures from an orbiting NASA satellite

clearly show objects striking the atmosphere and then erupting into giant rain clouds. The clouds carry enough moisture to cover the world's entire surface with 2.5 cm of water over the course of every 10,000 to 20,000 years. Most theories have suggested that water was always present on the planet, but if Frank's findings are correct, water could have been transported to the Earth and other planets. Although the source of the space balls is unknown, astronomers could determine their origin by plotting their flight path. "This is an enormous amount of water coming into our upper atmosphere," said Frank, "and as we well have started the development of life on our planet."

Russia turns its nukes away from NATO

Russian nuclear weapons are no longer targeted at NATO countries, following ratification of a know pact between Russia and the Western alliance. Until last week's meeting in Paris, the old Soviet arsenal had remained on active potential threat. But President Boris Yeltsin sought Western leaders by surprise when he announced at the signing of the agreement—which gives Moscow a leading role in NATO—that the missile warheads would be "removed." "Specimens assembled to clarify," "In effect," said Russia's defense ministry, "it means that all nuclear missiles which could be aimed at NATO states have been taken off combat duty by various means and methods."

Demanding justice

SPECIAL REPORT

Why
Edgar
Bronfman
took on
the Swiss
banks

BY NGOMI MORRIS

Edgar M. Bronfman is telling hundreds of lunchtime guests at Toronto's Royal York Hotel how he took on the Swiss banking establishment and won. It is less a speech than a corporate war story, narrated as if he had inhabited his antebellum as a credited party. "We went to see the Swiss bankers in Bern," Bronfman says of a September, 1995, meeting over Jewish accounts never claimed after the Nazi genocide of the Second World War. "We were ushered into a small room with no furniture and left standing. That was enough to irritate me. I don't trust people that way and I don't expect to be treated that way," says the 67-year-old son of Canadian liquor legend Samuel Bronfman. "We waited about eight to 10 minutes and then they stormed into the room." The Swiss Bankers' Association, he says in his peculiar graphic, had come up with a figure of 775 dormant bank accounts worth \$52 million and offered that amount "to lay me off." No deal. The issue of recovering Jewish assets is not about money, Bronfman tells the Canadian Club audience, his voice now deeply earnest. "It is about justice," he says. "As large as I draw breath, I will see to it that nobody profits from the ashes of the Holocaust."

In the 20 months since he was forced to stand in that private Bern club, Edgar Bronfman has used his power and prestige to propel what American author Jane

Kramer calls "white-collar war crimes" to the top of the Western world's moral agenda. Bronfman's Swiss hosts had hoped the New York City-based chairman of the multi-office-dollar Seagram empire was looking for one who would settle for a sum and quietly go away. Instead, the headline-grabbing president of the World Jewish Congress wanted facts about Switzerland's long-buried past—and wanted them independently verified. Since then, it was becoming clear, had knowingly tended its gold plundered across Europe by the Nazis, and they had stolen wealth by survivors of Holocaust victims to regain family assets.

After months of intense pressure orchestrated by Bronfman, the Swiss government finally announced plans in March for a \$1.4-billion fund for victims of the Nazis and other human rights violators. Bronfman, now sits on the fund's board. Swiss banks and industry have donated another \$270 million to a separate fund for Holocaust survivors. In the process, Bronfman has incurred the wrath of many Swiss—and criticism of his tactics from some in his own community.

"Edgar Bronfman is the most powerful Jew in the world," says Abraham Foxman, national director of the U.S. Anti-Defamation League and one who has tried to smooth relations with the Swiss in Bronfman's wake. That stance, Foxman adds, "hides the legacy of every Jew—and every anti-Semite."

It also makes things happen. The scandal has rolled across the world, from Bulgaria to Sweden to Argentina. Bronfman's determined association—WJC secretary general Israel Singer and executive director Elias Steinberg, both American—have a list of 24 countries that have given fuzzy answers about what happened to the assets of culled or murdered Jews. Even Washington has come under fire for failing to force Switzerland to turn over more gold after the War, when Allied intelligence knew where the trove awaited—including some bulging packed from the teeth of death camp corpses. U.S. Undersecretary of Commerce Stuart Eizenstat, who recently released a blistering 11-agency report on gold and other assets stolen by the Nazis, thanked Bronfman for forcing a human rights issue into "the conscience of the world and of countries who would never have opened up this dark chapter in their histories."

But a desire for historical justice is not all that is driving Bronfman. He has recently rediscovered his religious roots. Newly emerged from decades as a lapsed Jew, Bronfman is on a self-appointed mission to bring about a North American Jewish renaissance in the next century. "We need a spiritual rebirth," he says. "The ultimate problem in Judaism is not what happened 50 years ago, but what we are doing to ourselves, which is maintaining and opting out of our Judaism. It is a silent Holocaust."

It was 50 years ago that patriarch Samuel Bronfman, at his last breath, urged the Jewish Congress, urged Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier Macdonald King to accept into Canada Jewish refugees who were still languishing in European displaced persons camps 18 months after the war ended. In 1947, the elder Bronfman and colleagues failed—although the government did admit 1,000 destitute Jewish war orphans. Charles Bronfman, one year younger than Edgar and Seagram's co-chairman, recalls their father's 1949 plea from Montreal to Ottawa. "He'd come back thinking he'd really accomplished something. His answer in today's world is to think how powerful they were. They were nothing."

Like his father, who became known as Mr. Seagram, Edgar has wealth and access and the gumption to use both in the service of a cause. But today, Edgar Bronfman tends to get what he wants. In the United States, Seagram's and investors in the Bronfman family gave \$1.6 million to the Democratic party before the last election—more than any other donor—and at least \$800,000 to Republicans, not least because Bronfman likes to be able to schmooze at the



■ Bronfman in his New York office; returning plundered Nazi gold after the War (above); power

ILLUSTRATION BY NGOMI MORRIS



Hotshot survivors show D'Alema a conversation camp tattoo: evidence prostrate

died in 1971. Near the window in a portable Torah scroll of the type that Jewish leaders and kings take into battle. It was a 60th birthday gift from the WJC's Segal. Bronfman's spiritual mentor.

Bronfman speaks in a cluttered, stream-of-consciousness monologue—drily, unvarnished, at times glibly. He shuffles at his own jokes, which come regularly, and he does not mind swearing. But he is as casual as he is glib. In his low key, he recounts how in 1965, as head of the WJC's newly formed World Jewish Restoration Organization, he entered tricky negotiations with post-Soviet and Eastern European governments for the return of Jewish property stolen from the Nazis and then by the communists. Then, in 1994, two things happened to turn the WJC's attention to Western Europe as well: Segal read *The Sun Amos*, a Paul Erdman mystery that linked Swiss bankers to the Nazis, and a young researcher from Norway started to probe the fate of that country's 1,600 Jewish survivors.

Their property, it turns out, was confiscated all at bargain basement prices by a postwar democratic government—"obviously not a just way of dealing with the situation," says Bronfman. He began to wonder about other countries. "There were 120,000 Dutch Jews sent to concentration camps," he says. "Most were killed. In Belgium about 80,000 Jews were sent to Auschwitz. What happened to Jewish property after these people were all killed?"

Such thoughts and the well-researched proceedings of Segal and Stenbock led to the September, 1993, watershed in Berlin. "It occurred to me—thinking very quickly, actually on the spot—that if they are offering \$22 million, then's got to be an awful lot more," says Bronfman of the Swiss bankers' proposal. "Why would they offer anything at all, if there really were anything there?" The Swiss, after all, had in 1962 tried to close the matter with a payment of \$64 million, and then in 1972 quickly settled a group of subsequent claims. Now, the heirs of the so-called heirless accounts

were coming forward demanding amounts that with interest totaled at least \$85 billion.

Returning home, Bronfman had lunch with Senate banking committee chairman Alfonse D'Alema, a New York Republican with the largest number of Jewish constituents in the United States, who quickly thanked his committee researchers to join those of the WJC at Washington's National Archives. They began unearthing the hundreds that formed the basis of Switzerland's bank committee hearings D'Alema held last spring. At about the same time, Bronfman used a Democratic hard-master at his own apartment to get the ear of Hillary Clinton, who arranged 30 minutes with the President the next day. "He comes to it, I will work with Senator D'Alema on legislation," Clinton told Bronfman, who lives to be told of having gotten the odds of American politics to work together.

In Switzerland, the moral accounting forced a reevaluation of the country's very identity, long based on neutrality. But there was also a backlash. The country's tiny Jewish community was targeted by a wave of hate mail. Ordinary Swiss were angry, feeling attacked. By last winter, there was still no resolution.

Finally, in January, when a security guard at Zurich's Union Bank discovered stacks of wartime ledgers beside a basement paper shredder, the demands ceased. Outgoing Swiss president Jean-Pierre Delamare apologized for calling Bronfman's request for a \$100-million loan "naïve and black-and-white." In March, when Bronfman's WJC spoke of a worldwide boycott and D'Alema threatened that Swiss bank privileges in New York could be revoked, new Swiss President Albert Koller announced the \$6.4-billion "solidarity loan" for victims of Nazism and other humanitarian catastrophes, to be paid for by selling all gold reserves. The Swiss had caved.

All the while, Bronfman, under the tutelage of the religiously observant Segal, was evolving into a cautious traditional Jew. He enjoys going to Jewish studies classes at New York University's Edgar Bronfman Center. He says that in his three marriages he greatly regrets not having given his seven children a stronger Jewish education—only one son had a bar mitzvah. His latest project is to act as a role model for young

American Jews by speaking on campuses. "You have to make it cool to young people to want to be Jewish," says Bronfman. "That's not easy." The same message—although at a less religious forum—has been echoed by high-profile American lawyer Alan Dershowitz, whose latest book, *The Jewish American Jew*, warns that by the third quarter of the next century there could be almost no Jews left in America. Bronfman wants to fight that trend. "It's a calling to do this," he says. "People want something spiritual, something that brings meaning to their lives."

Brother Charles shares the concern. A longtime supporter of Canadian Jewish causes and a major investor in Israel, he began to attend Jewish study groups about six years ago, although not as avidly as Edgar. But the Bronfman brothers—unlike the Reichsmans, one of Canada's major real estate families—are still non-observant Jews and do not close Segal on Jewish holidays.

Segal is a Jew by business, operating at 40 countries and employing 30,000 people. The leverage side alone owns the brands Crown Royal, Segal's WD, Chivas Regal, Martell cognac, The Glenside, Mazon champagne, Captain Morgan Rum—and Tropique orange juice. After spending \$7.7 billion in 1996 to buy Hollywood's MCA/Universal conglomerate, now Universal Studios, Inc., Segal became a \$24-billion concern—with the Bronfman family stake at 28.4 percent. The MCA deal won Edgar Jr.'s, reflecting the 49-year-old CEO's interest in the media and entertainment world, but not Segal, who will live off his \$1.32-billion interest in media giant Time Warner Inc. for \$1.9 billion. But the MCA deals financing—through the sale of Segal's 26 percent stake in chemical giant Du Pont—also reflected chairman Edgar Sr.'s anger over a Du Pont subsidiary's \$15-billion deal with Iran. Clinton's sanctions embargo that.

On his office wall, Edgar Jr., the third Bronfman CEO this century, has a famous photograph of his grandfather playing solitaire. "There's a lot of Jewish people who are the dangers of ignorance," Stenbock says to Bronfman. "I'm a Jew, I'm a Jew, I'm a Jew," he has said he looks at the wall every day. "It isn't going to be a silver-sleeves [in this generation]," he vows.

Born into a large house in exclusive Westchester, the two boys among the five Bronfman children now many of the servants that he did their home father. "Growing up in the basement as Sam Bronfman's older son was not, I thought, terrific," says Edgar. "What he

highest level. President Bill Clinton, for instance, used a WJC book housing Bronfman in the White House Hotel in 1995 to announce sanctions against Iran, an enemy of Israel.

That kind of clout is why the WJC's Segal and Stenbock set their sights on Bronfman nearly two decades ago to resurrect their flagging organization. Bronfman became WJC president in 1983, and has since recruited his target and his bank's

counts. In the mid-1980s, he led the drive to expose Austrian UN secretary general Kurt Waldheim's past as a Nazi intelligence officer, and more recently intervened with Pope John Paul II to move a Carmelite convent off the grounds of the Auschwitz death camp in Poland. His dealings with leaders of the old Soviet Union helped gain the emigration of hundreds of Jews. Now the WJC has a lock on the Nam gold mine, one that Jewish groups had been tipping off around for decades. "If you ask why it took 50 years, it's because there is an Edgar Bronfman now," says Stenbock defensively. But it is also because the WJC tapped into a widespread sense that, with the Cold War over and with half a century of distance, it was time to explore the Nazi period anew.

The Segal-Bronfman Building in Manhattan is a 1958 Mies van der Rohe landmark that set the modern tone for today's Park Avenue. On the 38th floor, two security guards share a reception hall with emergency passages by American artists Mark Rothko and Larry Rivers, as well as two Joan Miró tapestries. Beyond them, Bronfman occupies his father's former office, while his brother Charles is across the hall and his son, current Segal president and CEO Edgar Jr., works elsewhere on the floor. Mr. Segal, as the family sometimes refer to the chairman of the hall, has just sat down under a 1939 portrait of Mr. Sam, his lambent frame angled forward as he prepares to discuss how this all came about. In the middle of the guest table is a jeweled shaker; a ritual man's turn that was left by Samuel Bronfman when he

I vote for who I think will be president'

For all the legend as a global power broker, Edgar Bronfman in conversation is simple, direct and often humorous. At his New York City office recently, the chairman of Segal and head of the World Jewish Congress spoke for 90 minutes with Mosaic's Senior Writer Norm Macas. Highlights:

On the hunt for Jewish wartime assets: I don't know why nobody had looked at this question for 50 years. I mean, that intrigues me. Europeans, I think, have a sense, "leave well enough alone." It's like the story of the two guys who are standing there about to be shot and one guy says to the guard, "Can I have a last cigarette?" And the other guy says, "Don't make trouble."

On the Bernina: I was honored to be at the 70th birthday party of [German Jewish leader] Ignatz Bulas last December at the presidential palace in Berlin. Everybody was there—the president, the foreign minister and a lot of other people. I said, "Here we are, being actually ignored and parked and champagne and everything else. Fifty years ago, they would be killed. It's a strange world we're living in." And you don't forget 50 years ago. I'm not. Obviously, wary at the Germans of today, but they're going to have to wrestle with this forever, as far as I'm concerned. This is something that they people did.

On his call for a Jewish 'holocaust': What we need is a rebirth of the spirit, a kind of excitement about what our religion is. To do

Edgar Sr. and Clinton in 1996: 'a strange work'

that, it obviously needs education. As my friend Richard Nixon, the head of Phillips, says, "It's pretty hard to dance around the table if you don't know the table." The fact is that it is so easy in the world today to be Jewish. You don't have trouble getting a job any more or whatever, overt anti-Semitism is at a very low level. So it has gotten very easy for Jews to opt out.

On power: When you have an awful lot of authority, like at Segal's, it's normal for people to be scared or jealous because you



fantasy it's an empire, and you only have to snap your fingers and suddenly that's that. It's not good. It's the only way to run a company, but it's a kind of benign dictatorship. Now, that's not true in Jewish life. God knows it's not true. In fact, I think that made me a better executive, getting involved with the World Jewish Congress—

finding out that these are volunteer people that are spending their time, and they are not in it just for just as good as you see. It's the Jewish. I'm a registered Republican, not that that means very much. I vote for who I think is going to be the next president. I didn't think that Bush really understood what the problems were and I thought that Clinton was going to be the next president. I want to have a way to get to the president when I need to go to Israel and Jewish people. Working people. **On his home:** I don't have very old memories of growing up in Manhattan. The hardest memory I have is when I came to New York for the first time in 1939 for the world's fair. I was 10. I took one look at New York and I said "Wow." And that never changed. I always loved New York and I always knew I was going to live here one day.

Edgar was the extrovert; Charles turned inward

most members, he adds dispassionately, in a coldman, despite the emphasis on Jewish family values. Liberal Senator Leo Kofner, a good friend of Charles, recalls how formal life was at 55 Belsheim Road "Warren Court House, which at the Brookmans' house was like being at Buckingham Palace," says Kofner. "The butler would report out of a box, and take. When I first went to dinner there I didn't have a clue what to do. I'd never seen three knives and three forks and spoons before."

In a 1991 documentary on Mr. Sen, who was head of remaining his son that "blindly" Edgar Brookman chose back then drinking how he occurred his father say "I love you." The boys shared their father but they also shared Edgar's response was something bordering on rebellion. "It was a dull way of life, his own man," says Kofner. He lived to tell jokes and had a good time "Edgar was the extrovert, while Charles turned inward." Knowing up at a moment, the son of a legend, there could be a lot of parents that set in," says Kofner. "May be your friends didn't like you for who you are but were interested in your money. There was a lot of that concern."

There was also confusion about Jewish identity at a time when overt anti-Semitism was still common in Canada. Mr. Sen, dogged by his poor Jewish roots and his business dealings with U.S. businessmen in the Prohibition era of the 1930s, always wanted to be accepted by the Canadian Establishment. A traditional Jew, at the same time he played United Nations League, laughs Edgar. Sen sent his boys to the Protestant upper crust's Selwyn House School in Montreal. There, Edgar also remembers being one of the few Jewish boys to attend Trinity College School in Port Hope, Ont., where he and the headmaster regarded unwelcome over how often he had to go to chapel.

Edgar calls his life awkward at age 13 the spiritual high point of his life. But a few years later, when he realized his father did not understand the Hebrew boys were reaching in a desperate, Edgar stopped going. "The thing that always created me was having two boys behind me talking about a real estate deal," he says of a New York synagogue he attended briefly years after war. Brookman, who loves Manhattan, became an American citizen in 1950. Now, with his mother gone, he says he speaks "his little time as possible" in Canada, coming mainly for board meetings of the company, well headquartered in Montreal. Charles, on the other hand, proudly displays his Order of Canada pin, and has lived mostly in Montreal. His own records are in Palm Beach, Fla., New York and Jerusalem as well. Their older sister, Phyllis Leber, lives in Toronto, while Maria, the eldest, died in 1985.

Unlike their father and his three brothers, the second generation Brookmans have always been friends. "Whenever anything was of any importance we would always band together," Charles says, adding that he accepted his role as number 2 at Sen's man with resentment but with relief. "It was bigger being a bigger fish in a smaller pond," Charles in Montreal. "He was in charge for the older guy, not company." The two sit down together from time to time to sort out which Jewish causes they will support with time and

money. For Edgar, the priorities are education and restitution. "I was asked whether I lost any family in the Holocaust," he says. "I said, 'Not in the way you mean. The whole Jewish people is my family.' Just six million. That's the way I feel."

Often the most biting criticism comes from within one's "family." It is in the Jewish world that has most extensively questioned Edgar Brookman's aims, his brush, swirling approach, or his basic wisdom. An opinion piece in Israel's *Jewish Press* newspaper accused Brookman's WJC of suffering from "premature articulation" for expending thousands before their contents could be verified, and for channeling *hoyot* in order to speed up results. Former *Newsweek* Simon Wiesenthal is angry that the WJC's gold drive is diverting the focus from the search for war criminals. It is partly emotional politics, but there is also a genuine discontent among many Jews in Europe and America over Brookman's tactics during the past year.

Brookman is straightforward. "If the Swiss government looks upon me like a great big dog that's liable to jump up on them, then that's fine," he says. "I remember when their foreign minister was here. He was actually serious. He thought that I had horns. He was absolutely shocked to find that I was a perfectly normal, cultured, polite human being." But he dismisses anyone that he has stepped on the toes of the world but reviving Jewish communities of Europe. "I would love for the European Jewish communities to be more involved," he says. "But frankly, they don't have the kind of power that is necessary to shake things up." He has wrestled with the question that his activities have produced a backlash of anti-Semitism for Swiss Jews and those in other European communities that he believes the principles of justice and Jewish pride are more important. "I have come to the realization that Jews don't make any decisions—and I'm not doing it," he says.

New York-based writer J. J. Goldberg, author of *Jewish Power: Inside the Jewish American Establishment* was among those who initially felt that Brookman and D'Alema were pushing too hard. But he has changed his mind now that the WJC has produced results. "A lot of the resentment towards Edgar is that he and his staff are so effective," Goldberg says.

Brookman does not disagree. "Any day of the week, I'd rather be suspected than liked," he says, before publishing himself up and heading out of his office. He must call local Singer to find out the results of yet another meeting on Nias gold. Although the first battle was won, the war is still on. Swiss banks have identified only \$36,000 in unclaimed Jewish deposits so far. And the Swiss electronic must still hold a glintback on the solidarity bank. Building interest in colleague. Steinberg, Brookman families over a lifetime phrase, hoping to win his friend's "nice vicious" in a language he has been able to read most primary school but in early days learning to understand was a complex process. As soon as he has built up enough vocabulary, Edgar M. Brookman, Jewish world leader, intends to have a Hebrew tutor. □



Charles Brookman, choosing rather than competing

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Are Jews vanishing?

Assimilation worries a close-knit community

SPECIAL REPORT

Perry Nadelman finds it amusing when a third generation non-practising Jew, says Nadelman, a professor of children's literature at the University of Winnipeg, "I happily accept my Jewish ethnicity but it's a culture of my ancestors." Nadelman—whose wife and three children are Anglican—is surprised at how often strangers invite him to participate in Jewish rituals. "The community keeps trying to claim me," he says. "I get phone calls asking me to contribute to the United Jewish Appeal when I ask, 'Why did you call me?'"

They say, "Oh, your name sounds Jewish." Nadelman is one of some 300,000 Jews in Canada whose only link to their Jewish heritage is their name. And, in recent years, their numbers have increased so dramatically that some observers predict North American Jewry could virtually disappear within a few generations. More and more often, says David Silver, a Toronto writer and columnist Jew, "we hear that we are effectively giving Hitler what he wanted."

This perceived threat looms, paradoxically, at a time when Jewish life is experiencing a renaissance. The wave of spiritually fervent young North American Jews is drawing many Jews back to Judaism. "There is a resurgence at the grassroots level," says Toronto Shabbat Shochet, a rabbi who celebrated his 60th birthday last week. "I look at my friends," says the Israeli-born, Toronto-based, "many who grew up eating frozen burgers are now eating kosher."

Others—bored of the widespread anti-Semitism that existed in Canada as late as the 1950s—see reducing their cultural, if not their religious, heritage. "Canadian Jews now hold positions in government, business and the academic world where our parents could only dream of," says Irving Abella, a historian and past-president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, noting that, with a population of roughly 300,000, Canada's Jewish community is the fastest-growing in the world outside Israel. "There is no area of Jewish life that isn't thriving," adds Abella. "But we worry—and the worry is for our children. Will they remain Jewish?"

The statistics are not encouraging. In a provocative new book, *The Vanishing American Jew*, Alan Dershowitz—a prominent American lawyer who helped defend O. J. Simpson—argues that more than half of American Jews, who already have a low birth rate, marry outside their faith and that four of five of their couples raise their children as Jews. Dershowitz said Abella's belief that Canada—with a somewhat lower intermarriage rate of 30 per cent—may be able to anticipate and, perhaps, avoid the problem. But James Presson, a

Bridgeport, Conn., rabbi who served Toronto in the 1980s, believes that Canadian Jews are "just a generation behind the assimilation trend in America."

What can be done? "I don't want to let anyone who marries," says Dershowitz, who was married to an Irish Catholic. Rather, he challenges Jews to attract younger generations with a more "positive Judaism"—and to abandon their "asymmetrical status as victims." In fact, the changing global political climate since the end of the Cold War—including free immigration for Russian Jews and relative Jewish freedom in Israel—is already forcing many Jews to reassess attitudes formed over centuries of persecution. "If you've been defining yourself in terms of hostile forces," notes Jacobovitz, "you have a problem because there are no more demonstrations to go to."

Some are turning, instead, to the spirituality of Judaism—but not necessarily in traditional synagogues. "The future is in connecting with the origin of the religion," says Winnipeg's Aron Minkov, the 44-year-old daughter of Holocaust survivors who first turned to Judaism in the '80s. But Minkov, Jewish community worker, observes some laws and ancient rituals privately, explaining: "The traditional synagogue—like many traditional churches—doesn't really speak to my generation."

Others want to establish their Jewish roots, unapologetic even by mail. In a scenario that is playing out in an increasing number of Canadian communities, writer Silver and a dozen Jewish authors—many of whom married to gentiles—were last year in order to intensify to observe Jewish holidays. "There is an emphasis on the secular," says Silver. "When you talk about things religious, people's ears clamp shut." The group appears to be striking a chord—nearly 300 people attended a high holiday service held in a local church sanctuary last year. But religious Jews fear that the "wax, Jewish Jewish feeling" that Silver and others are working may not prevent the slide into assimilation. "Judaism is not ethnic chauvinism," argues Jacobovitz. "It can be, I like chicken soup and that makes me Jewish."

Yet for all the concern, many Jewish leaders believe their ancient faith will outlive the worriers. "The danger of assimilation is serious and probably will claim a portion of our people," admits Toronto Rabbi Gershon Pinus, a widely respected past president of the Canadian Jewish Congress. "But we will not disappear. We may be fewer for a while, but we may also become more committed—everything that is a blessing also has its dangers."



Minkov plays at home: a grassroots renaissance

CITIZEN

HOW THE WORLD TELLS TIME.

Stalled on the launchpad

Canada's satellite-TV business struggles to get off the ground

BY TOM FENNEL

Linda Reid can still recall how excited she was in 1981 when she bought her first television. What followed, though, were 36 years of frustration. While her friends in Bellford could choose from dozens of channels, Reid, who lives in a small area of central Nova Scotia that is not served by cable TV, was stuck with two, one of which would often turn fuzzy and disappear. She finally caught up with her friends in March by subscribing to AlphaStar's 60-channel service, the company, owned by Teo-Cruz Electronics Inc. of Milton, Ont., went into receivership, burdened by a \$145-million debt. If Teo-Cruz dares to incur new financing, AlphaStar will shut down—and Reid will become another victim of Canada's star-crossed efforts to launch a domestic satellite-TV industry. "After getting used to all these channels," she says, "it would be hard to go back to practically nothing at all."

After years of false starts and failed attempts by Ottawa to rein in a thriving "grey market" for U.S. satellite services, the Canadian industry is still struggling. Of the two companies now offering services, AlphaStar is the largest, with more 4,300 customers. Its rival, Star Choice Television Network Inc. of Fredericton, retooled its first customer in early May but declines to reveal the current number of subscribers. Although both firms are losing by targeting rural Canadians who live beyond the reach of cable TV, the industry's future will depend on its success in urban markets, where more than 80 per cent of households already have cable. To make matters worse, a host of competing services—including satellite services cable TV, which launches signals via radio waves—are waiting in the wings. "The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission held licensing hearings for wireless cable last week aimed at carving up the lucrative southern Ontario market. There will be formidable competition—only the strongest will survive," says Michael Newman, president of Minuteman, Ont.-based ExpressVu Inc. Backed by Bell Canada Enterprises Inc., the country's second-largest corporation, ExpressVu is preparing to launch its service this summer with a satellite advertising campaign.

The upstart satellite-TV industry suffered yet another blow last month when Justice John Kirby of Saskatchewan's Queen's

DOING THE DISHES

Unfortunately for consumers, the dish antennas and set-top boxes required for direct-to-home satellite-TV are not interchangeable without costly modifications. If Teo-Cruz's AlphaStar service shuts down, for example, subscribers who switch to a different provider will likely have to buy or rent new equipment. Prices do not include installation.

AlphaStar
25-inch dish, set-top box programmed to decode AlphaStar signals. Price: \$450

Star Choice
24-inch dish and specially programmed set-top box. Price: \$999

ExpressVu
Plans to begin operations this summer with its own set-top box and a 24-inch dish, switching to an 18-inch dish next year when the company begins using a more advanced satellite. Price: \$999-\$1700 (est.)

SOURCE: COMPANY WEBSITES

Bench ruled that consumers who sign up with U.S. satellite companies are not subject to law. Industry executives estimate that as many as 250,000 households have already purchased dishes and set-top boxes that allow them to receive signals from U.S.-based satellite broadcasters. Under the Radio-communications Act, it is illegal for foreign satellite operators to beam their signals into Canada without a Canadian broadcast license, which is why Canadians who do subscribe must obtain a U.S.-issuing address. But still new, Ottawa has suggested that individual Canadians who subscribe to U.S. satellite services were also running the risk of prosecution. Canadian satellite firms are partly responsible for the flaming grey market, because they took so long to offer service, says telecommunications consultant Ian Angus. But analyst Ramon Boney blames the federal government for the sorry state of the Cana-



Lewis is leading the service has 6,000 subscribers—and a crippling debt load

dian satellite-TV business, arguing that policies that were designed to protect Canadian culture have actually hampered the industry and discouraged many Canadians to look south for service. "While the federal government has attempted to slow the spread of the grey market by taking firms that sell U.S. satellite TV equipment to court, Kirby ruled that there is no limit of U.S. signals "unless the telecommunications service is authorized" by Canadian law. That means, in effect, that consumers who have bought U.S. equipment have done nothing wrong.

Now the equipment suppliers believe the grey market will continue to grow in the wake of Kirby's decision and in the absence of what consumers see as a viable Canadian service. But Jan Shaw, president of Calgary-based Star Communications Inc., believes the fight to U.S. services could be stemmed if the CRTC allowed firms such as Star Choice to offer the same mix of channels that is available from U.S. satellite firms, rather than restricting them to channels currently licensed by the CRTC. That way, for example, a customer wanting several channels of U.S. football could find it from a Canadian service. Currently, American cable or satellite subscribers can choose from hundreds of specialized channels, including such areas as religious as the Faith-Agape Network, Therapy Channel Network and Chap TV, a channel devoted to marital arts. "People are leaving the Canadian system because they want more product," says Shaw. "Let's not drive them away because we can't offer them what they want."

Many consumers would be happy to subscribe to any Canadian satellite-TV service at all, but have become frustrated by the long wait and the absence of an established company. Richard Kowalski, owner of Trinity Communications Group Inc., an electronics retailer

in Fredericton, said he has more than 400 clients on a waiting list for Canadian satellite-TV service, yet he is cautioning them to wait a little longer. He says he worries they may lose money if they buy equipment from a firm that subsequently goes out of business. "We have a lot of people who will sit in here with \$1,000 ready to buy a package," said Kowalski, "but you have to let them wait a while."

Ultimately, satellite-TV firms will have to find a way to win over those customers if they hope to stay afloat. Once the rural market has been explored, says Brian Neill, chairman and chief executive officer of Star Choice, the industry will turn its attention to towns and small cities, where cable is often expensive and limited to about 30 channels. "There are three million subscribers in the smaller cable markets," says Neill. "They do not get in much programming as we can deliver to them at a cheaper price."

As competition intensifies, prices are bound to fall—making it difficult to predict when or if Canadian satellite firms will ever be profitable. AlphaStar, which is still operating as it searches for a new owner, is charging \$499 for a set-top box and a 25-inch receiver dish, and \$300 a year for a 60-channel package. Meanwhile, prices in the United States have been tumbling, with some firms charging as little as \$199 for the hardware. Analysts expect that in the future, the industry will be forced to give the equipment away to attract customers—just as cellular telephone companies now routinely hand out free phones to new subscribers.

Satellite providers will need every advantage they can muster when the battle ultimately shifts to major cities, where the choice of channels on cable is greater and prices are generally lower. Before AlphaStar's major lender, the Bank of Montreal, pushed it into late-stage receivership, company president David Lewis was bullish on the industry's future. He argues that, in spite of the current troubles, such firms are poised to cut deeply into the cable consumer's profits and they can capture the cream of the urban market—the 10 per cent of customers who are willing to pay for virtually every programming option available.

Cable TV executives are clearly nervous. At last month's Canadian Cable Television Association convention in Toronto, Canadian cable pioneer Ted Rogers, chairman of Rogers Communications Inc. (which owns Montreal's), predicted that ExpressVu will use Bell Canada's extensive cable network to subvert the competition by offering "hardware" to consumers—allowing it to undercut Rogers' rates. "BCE's policy," he said, "is to try to bankrupt our people."

Cable executives have called on the CRTC to block Bell from subsidizing ExpressVu or naming Bell's vast customer database for its marketing campaign. But ExpressVu's Newman says the federal regulator is not inclined to stand in the way. "BCE was permitted to take control of ExpressVu," he says. "There were no conditions attached, so we are free to cross-market with anyone we wish." He says the company has not decided whether it will undercut cable prices in urban areas or simply try to lure customers away with attractive programming.

Newman is clearly hoping to outpace on the residential many Canadians feel toward the cable TV giants. "There will be a significant number of people," he says, "who will want to have a look at satellite-TV simply because they are disenchanted with the monopoly tactics of big-city cable—the lack of trust." But before that theory can be tested, the Canadian satellite-TV industry will have to prove that it can stay in orbit. □



Brighter days in Montreal?

Despite the city's problems, some firms are hiring and expanding

BY BRENDA BRANSWELL

It's not the sort of enterprise that normally attracts much publicity. A privately held high-technology firm, ASRC Systems Inc. is less than four years old, with only 52 employees and a modest \$1 million in annual sales. Since last summer, however, company president Gary Stroud has made four television appearances in the Montreal area and been quoted at least half a dozen times in local newspaper reports. As much as he welcomes the attention, Stroud is knowledgeable that the media blitz has nothing to do with ASRC's main product—software that helps people do business over the Internet. Instead, the coverage resulted from the company's decision to close its Burlington, Ont., head office last year and consolidate operations in Montreal. In media parlance, it was a "misleading story," noteworthy only because such events seem to happen so infrequently. As Stroud puts it: "People told me I was crazy."

It certainly is a measure of Montreal's troubled times that investment decisions, large or small, seem to draw undogmatic attention. In February, the city's business and political leaders cheered when Canada's newest forest products plant—Albita Consolidated Inc., the result of a merger between Albita-Prix Inc. and Stone-Consolidated Corp.—chose Montreal over Toronto as its new headquarters. More often than not, however, the moving birds are the jobs—and they are headed in the opposite direction. The Royal Bank announced in March that it plans to move its 125-employee finance department to Toronto from the bank's Montreal head office in May 1997. And 17 months ago, Canadian Pacific Ltd. announced that it was moving its railway headquarters from Montreal to Calgary. Since 1977, ac-

The new team moved quickly. Meanwhile, lightest hardware at Ericsson's day case center (below) good news



cording to a Dun & Bradstreet study last year, Montreal has lost 506 head offices to Toronto, while only 123 companies relocated from Toronto to Montreal.

That amid the flurry of grim news about Montreal's economy, some industries are hiring and expanding. Since 1995, in the biotechnology sector alone, more than 50 firms have sprung up in the city. For high-technology firms in particular, the choice of Montreal is influenced by its ample supply of well-educated workers, available at salaries 10 per cent to 50 per cent lower than in Toronto. Stroud, for example, says he decided to consolidate ASRC's operations in Ville St. Laurent, a northwest suburb of Montreal, in part because it was easier to recruit employees. The supply of software workers in Toronto, by contrast, "seemed to be tapped out."

Montreal-based Ericsson Research Canada, which recently landed a \$100-million contract from its Swedish parent to develop software for cellular networks, came to a similar conclusion. "In our Toronto operation, we have more difficulty hiring technically qualified people than we do in Montreal," says Lasse Hattula, chairman of Ericsson Communications Inc., the research division's parent company. With close to 300 employees—



whose average age is 35—Ericsson's Montreal operation is now one of the four largest R and D centres in Quebec. It has grown dramatically since its establishment in 1985—moving out over Ottawa and Toronto, Hattula says, in part because of the availability of highly qualified workers. "More important, and this bit of a surprise to all of us, the turnover rate is extremely low," Hattula says. "We're not losing anybody."

Another aspect of Montreal's appeal to Ericsson is financial. In its core, that took the form of a "major" \$1-billion loan package put together by the federal and provincial governments. The Quebec government boasts that the province's R and D tax incentives are among the most generous in the industrialized world. Hattula estimates that it costs Ericsson about 30 per cent to 15 per cent less to operate in Quebec than it would in Ontario. "The fiscal environment is excellent here as R and D organisations in Quebec," he says. "We're the second or lowest cost R and D facility in the world for Ericsson."

Two other attractions ASRC's heavily patented efforts at Ville St. Laurent, 80 employees of Astra Research Cor-

poré Montreal, a division of Sweden's Astra AB, recently moved into a leased new \$25-million office building. Astra's decision to build its own facility at a time when the city's commercial sector is in a 10 per cent raised state, however, coincides with Astra vice-president Per Frim. But Astra—owned, like Ericsson, by Sweden's Wallenberg family—plans to spend \$300 million over the next seven years to research drugs for treating chronic pain, and it wanted to make sure it had room for future expansion. "If we are successful, we can expand to 600 people," says Frim.

Tax incentives and an available stable of clinical researchers also convinced U.S. pharmaceutical giant Merck Frost to spend \$80 million to modernize and expand its manufacturing and research facilities on Montreal's West Island. The Montreal area, in fact, is home to an estimated 40 per cent of Canada's pharmaceutical companies. André Marchette, the president of Merck Frost Canada, says the presence of a large number of pharmaceutical companies has nurtured a strong research community at local universities and hospitals. "There are very good and talented researchers," he says. And Marchette praises past and present Quebec governments for helping the pharmaceutical industry as part of the province's industrial policy.

Company executives also cite Montreal's quality of life as a factor behind their decision to locate in the city. "Montreal is an ideal place to live," says Stroud, 56, a Toronto native who previously lived in Montreal from 1967 to 1979. He says he prefers the city's more European and multicultural flavor, relatively inexpensive housing and, compared with Toronto, reduced traffic congestion. Adds Hattula: "If you don't read all the negative press and politics, the quality of life in Montreal is excellent."

That said, the city's chances are often not enough to lure prospective employees to the city. A report prepared last fall for the Quebec government noted that local corporate headhunting firms ran into "profound resistance" trying to recruit people from other provinces. Only two of Stroud's 12 Burlington employees, for example, moved to Montreal, while Stroud chafes at having to state about the province's political climate. In Ericsson's case, most of its employees are native Montrealers, so recruiting from outside the province is rarely an issue. "However," says Hattula, "if we had to rely on attracting people from Ontario or Western Canada, we'd be in real trouble."

With another international loan—the provincial government has pledged to build a new airport for 2000—the prospect of separation is always a consideration. But Stroud says uncertainty is relative. He has worked in both the Middle East and Africa, two troubled regions in which business generally carries on in spite of political turmoil. "It's a first before that intelligence will prevail and it's not going to happen," Stroud says.

For Hattula, "the bottom line is first as long as we are profitably run our business here in Quebec, that's not an issue." Still, he concedes that if the current political climate had persisted 11 years ago when Ericsson first decided to locate its R and D unit in Montreal, "we probably would have gone elsewhere." For now, at least, Ericsson's growth has vindicated its choice. Says Hattula, referring to the city's economic prospects: "We really need to hear good news, and there aren't that many good news stories." On both those points, he will get no argument from most Montrealers. □

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Deirdre McMurdy



The Bottom Line

Lessons from the front

From the outset, it was clear that June 2 would not go down in history as one of Canada's most memorable elections. But in spite of the general lack of enthusiasm, the campaign was remarkable for the end of several established economic and fiscal trends.

One is that Gordon Thiesse failed to observe the tradition that central bankers must sit down and shut up at election time. Speaking in plain, unadorned English, Thiesse chaired the domestic bond market in March by stating that Canadian stock markets were not overvalued and that the economy was not at risk of igniting inflation.

Just 19 days before the election, Thiesse struck again. He cheerily informed a Calgary audience that the Canadian economy had "ample room" to grow without causing inflation. Analysts interpreted that as a signal that low rates will continue. On the day Thiesse spoke, the Toronto Stock Exchange bounded ahead by 85 points.

Equally important was what was not said—making the death of the usual prospects for government-funded job creation. Although all parties denied Canada's unemployment crisis, they seemed content to leave it to the private sector to create jobs. Instead, the focus was on policies that create the appropriate climate for employment growth.

Also missing from public debate was any questioning of the need to further reduce Canada's deficit. As in last year's U.S. presidential race, the promise of tax cuts sparked relatively little excitement among voters. After years of federal finger-wagging, Canadians appear to accept that the deficit must be eliminated before taxes are cut.

Still, the government does face several major problems. Despite forecasts of three per cent growth in gross domestic product this year, the spectre of national unity still haunts Canada. If, as is possible, there is a provincial election in Quebec this fall, seve-

nist rhetoric could easily dentier financial markets, rattle the dollar and drive up interest rates.

At the same time, domestic rates remain vulnerable to pressure from south of the border. In recent months, the growing spread between U.S. and Canadian rates has squeezed the income by attracting more foreign capital to the United States. The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan, has indicated that he will lean on the market if inflation accelerates.

In addition, the ongoing tension war in just one sign that relations between the world's two biggest trading partners are cooling. U.S. Trade Representative Charles Bartschsky has made it clear that she plans to target the sanctified ground of Canadian culture even more aggressively than has already been the case. Those efforts began with the successful challenge to Canada's domestic magazine policies, and she plans to expand on that victory.

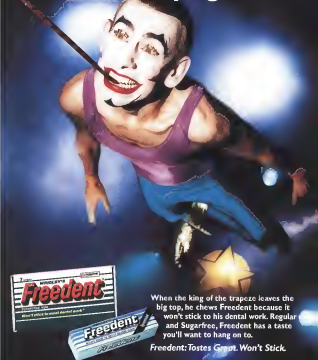
Another looming trade irritant is in the financial services sector. Washington is now reforming its banking laws to allow more consolidation and cost savings. But if U.S. bankers become more open to Canadian banks, pressure will soon mount for greater reciprocity—something that domestic chartered banks already no tolerate and dread.

On the international front, Canada faces more turbulence. Even as Canada is targeting Asia—and particularly China—for increased export business, trade relations between the United States and China have become increasingly tense. That raises the danger that Canada may get caught between its largest and most established trade partner and a promising newcomer.

At home, the most stubborn economic challenges remain the most basic: firing up underemployed trade and creating a national securities exchange. If the government makes progress with either, it will deserve to make history—just as the sleepy and sultry campaign leading to inventory deserves to be forgotten.

As in last year's
U.S. presidential
race, the
promise of tax
cuts sparked
little excitement

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BRE-X BANISHED

The Alberta Securities Commission imposed a cease-trading order on Bre-X Minerals Ltd., banning the fallacious gold-exploration firm from the exchange where it became a stock-market sensation. Meanwhile, Bre-X president David Walsh said he had "never heard" of the Indonesian warehouse in which company staff allegedly tampered with core samples from Bre-X's Buning property.

INTEL HITS BACK

Intel Corp. launched a counterattack against Digital Equipment Corp. and threatened to cut off the computer maker's supply of Pentium chips. The move came two weeks after Digital accused Intel of copying its technology. Intel, the world's largest supplier of microprocessors, alleged that Digital refused requests by Intel to obtain confidential information.

BANKING ON PROFITS

Crediting a strong economy, Canada's biggest banks are on track to smash last year's record \$6.3 billion in profits. At the Royal Bank, second-quarter profits were up 18 per cent to \$483 million. The Bank of Montreal, Scotiabank and TD Bank reported smaller increases.

WORLD'S BIGGEST MERGER

SBIC Communications Corp. of San Antonio, Tex., and AT&T Corp. of New York City are negotiating history's largest corporate merger. SBIC, which owns Southwestern Bell and Radio Televisi, was formed after the 1994 breakup of AT&T. A merger would face numerous regulatory obstacles.

SAY IT AIN'T SO, JOE

The U.S. Federal Trade Commission charged that R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.'s "Joe Camel" cartoon ads illegally promote cigarettes to underage consumers. The FTC demanded the company cease targeting children. R. J. Reynolds labelled the charges "unfounded" and vowed to fight.

OIL GIANT ARRIVES

U.S. oil giant Atlantic Richfield Co. is buying 52 Super-Save gas stations in British Columbia, the first step in a planned expansion into Canada. The U.S. company, which already controls 1,700 gas stations, is known for aggressive marketing.

Coffee prices perking up

How high will it go?

It's not the stock market that average Canadians are wondering about these days, but the price of coffee. Coffee prices are now at a 20-year high on the New York futures market, and still rising. A pound of Arabica beans for July delivery is hovering around \$3.075, 100 per cent higher than at the beginning of the year. Some retailers have already passed the increase on to consumers. Seattle-based Starbucks Corp., for example, is charging an extra five cents a cup for drip coffee and 10 cents more for espresso beverages.

With reduced world coffee harvests and inventories near 20-year lows, coffee traders are

HOT STUFF

Prices of coffee per pound on the New York futures market



Coffee harvest in Costa Rica: tight supplies



worry about the possibility of frost in Brazil's coffee belt. Prices are also perking up on concerns over lower-than-expected crop forecasts for Colombia. The Coffee Association of Canada, a Toronto-based industry group, says that supply shortages may cause even higher prices later this year.

Prairie partnership

Two months after beating off a hostile takeover bid by the Alberta and Manitoba wheat pools, Winnipeg-based United Grain Growers agreed to sell 45 per cent of the company to U.S. agribusiness giant Archer Daniels Midland Co. The \$200-million deal must still be approved by shareholders. "There is no better partner for UGG," said president and chairman Ted Allen. The U.S. company's interna-

tional links might open up new markets for Canadian grain, said Martin Andrews, senior vice-president of Decatur, Ill.-based Archer Daniels Midland. Daniels will get two seats on UGG's 15-member board, while Prairie farmers who own shares in the company will continue to elect 12 directors. The final position is filled by a vote among all shareholders. The U.S. company, whose directors include former prime minister Brian Mulroney, has agreed not to increase its stake for 10 years.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

The number of people collecting unemployment insurance benefits declined 1.1 per cent in March to 591,000, boosting hopes that jobless Canadians are finally benefiting from the country's economic upturn. Jobless payments fell in every province but British Columbia. Ontario posted the steepest decline, at 2.6 per cent.

Loans by chartered banks rose at an annual rate of 9.8 per cent in April, evidence that consumers are returning to the marketplace. Demand for mortgages was particularly strong, rising at a 13-per-cent annual rate between February and April.

Canada is also benefiting from the strength of the global economy. Visitors spent a

record \$3.6 billion in Canada last year. Almost half that amount came from countries other than the United States.

"Based at least in part on the accelerating trend in bank lending, we expect the Bank of Canada to raise short-term rates up by at least five per cent in the next year."

—Nesbitt Burns

"Currency fundamentals haven't been this supportive for a very long time. Canada is a top performer in inflation, trade and balance of payments. Economic growth is becoming stronger and broader."

—Scotiabank

WEEKLY EARNINGS

Average pay per worker

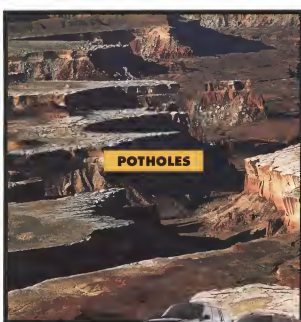
March, 1996

\$578.88

March, 1997

\$594.68

SOURCE: EMPLOYMENT CANADA



POTHOLES

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1997 Ford Explorer

1997 Ford Expedition

What's to stop you?

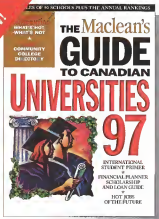


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People

Karen Kain dances her farewells

It's the last dance. She plays a hyperbolic version of herself, a prima ballerina who is poised through the arms of lovers and strangers. To the sound of Chopin, partners come and go as she glides from dance floor to dressing room—an on-stage headliner—her eyes searching for identity between the blur of movement and the stillness of the mirror. In the end, she finds it. Shedding the white tulle, the drills of the trade, the ballerina returns to the stage in red velvet—a bold declaration of a dress that says this woman is finally on her own, and in charge. The dancer is Karen Kain. The dance is *The Actress*, created for her in 1984 by James Kudachuk, now artistic director of the National Ballet, and it is the swan song for her seven-city farewell tour, which opened in Toronto last month and ends in Winnipeg on Oct. 4. At 45, Canada's queen of dance is finally retiring after 25 years on stage. Last week, in the renovated 1940s farmhouse that she shares with actor Ross Petty and two cats in suburban Toronto (they have no children), Kain reflected on her past, and her future.

The house is overflowing with houseplants from the tour's opening night. More flowers bloom outside, in the garden that is her husband's pride and joy. Kain sits erect at the kitchen table in blue jeans and a white shirt. She looks radically thin, her five-foot, seven-inch frame translated to a dancing weight of 115 lb. After this tour, she looks forward to eating what she likes, and to "getting out of bed without feeling 150 years old." The morning after a performance, she says, "I have to get up, because my ankles aren't working. There's a lot of wear and tear on this old body. Yesterday, I spent two and a half hours in plights. And I put my feet in ice buckets after the show—a lot of dancers do that, dancers tell my son." But Kain will miss dancing. "I love to perform," she says. "I only look one 30 years to get past being terrified all the time." She has taken some risk for the prolonged future around her retirement. "I don't think it's too," she says. "I had this wonderful opportunity to go out with a bang, I thought, 'Who could be so lucky?'"

There is an act in every dancer's life. "When you're young, it's all about adrenaline and showing off. And just when you really begin to understand what you're doing onstage, you start to wane on the physical side. You lose yourself backstage.... There are so many dancers around in the past where they can't go on nearly as long as I have. Or else they lose interest." It was 1940's New York who showed Kain how to dance with more than her body, who forced her to look back in the eye when they first performed together, in a 1972 production of *Swan Lake*. She says, "He made me realize the importance of real contact—real people connecting, not just making pretty shapes."

Nureyev, touring with her in North America and Europe, helped lift Kain to international stardom, and eventually urged her to allow



Canada's prima ballerina ends her 28-year career

■ The artist: I had this wonderful opportunity to go out with a bang!

don Canada. "He felt this was not a country that was concerned about the arts," says Kain, who was born in Hamilton. "Elsewhere I was treated with much more respect, whereas I left taken for granted here—for whole ultra-democratic thing drove me crazy. I did think, when Rossif was trying to get me to Europe, that I should have done it. But I wanted to have my life here. It's only in the last four or five years that I've known I made the right decision."

In Canada, of course, she found her share of amazing partners, from Frank Augustin to Rex Harrington. "With Frank," she says, "there was a period of time when we were riding a wave—we were so synchronized in our abilities and our goals. The chemistry was just there. We didn't have to manufacture it."

Kain will soon have more time to devote to the chemistry of her 14-year marriage. She and Petty are planning a Mediterranean cruise, and she looks forward to a more relaxing life. "I don't like being a public figure," she says. "I don't like people looking me up, except when I'm onstage." Kain intends to teach and coach, and the idea of acting has crossed her mind. Although she says, "It's not part of my plan—I don't have the training," she admits that there may be a part for her close to home, as a film script being developed by her husband. Titled *The Case of the Nutty Nurtresser*, it is a comic mystery about a plot to murder the Sugar Plum Fairy—a prima ballerina who promises to retire, then changes her mind.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Bailey crossing the line, Johnson far behind—he wasn't going to beat him

Sports

The race that wasn't

Standing behind the starting line before his 150-m dash race in Toronto against Michael Johnson last week, Donovan Bailey was concentrating on his breathing. Tinkling over the SkyDome crowd that had gathered to watch the One-to-One Challenge of Champions, the Canadian Olympic and world 100-m champion took measured breaths, trying to stay relaxed under the most scrutinizing pressure. A few feet away, his American rival, the Olympic and world 200-m champion, looked calm and focused. When he hurried out of his blocks at the crack of the starter's pistol, Johnson assumed the lead track, chest-out style that had been so dominating in his world-record-setting performance in the 200 m at last summer's Olympic Games in Atlanta. But Bailey, too, has a familiar style, and with his arms pumping to the beat set by his long legs, the Oakville, Ont., resident easily accelerated past Johnson and didn't realize his opponent had dropped out around 66 m until he sensed the track lane. Afterwards, Bailey explained that he looked back wondering, "Where is he?"

It was supposed to be the Race of the Century, but Johnson's injury—a strained quadriceps muscle on his left leg that Bailey openly doubted—ended it less than halfway for what might have been. The Johnson-Bailey rivalry stirred an irremediable propaganda war—two vs. one, one vs. one—28-year-olds at

the peak of their careers running 250-m for a \$1.4-million winner's prize and, in some eyes, the title of World's Fastest Man. But while Toronto fans got their hoped-for Bailey victory, they did not get down to the wire excitement, and they did get the usually clumsy Bailey doing the on-Canadian Olympic—his mouthing his opponent. There was talk of a rematch once before the runners had suited their shoes "that at the moment," Johnson said at a post-race press conference, his leg wrapped in ice. "I'm more concerned about getting healthy in time for the U.S. championship two weeks."

That the race and its first event suffered took place at all was surprising enough. The promoter, Ontario-based Magellan Entertainment Group, stumbled through everything from media relations (the company spelled Bailey's first name wrong seven times in its first press release) to TV rights and sponsorships (law professor went to marketing analyst, writing in a trade publication, described Magellan's proposed sponsor line as "highway robbery"). Magellan president Geoff Brindley, 29, who also collected motivational seminars, needed all the positive thinking the could muster in the closing days. Short of cash, he was only able to keep the race on track after Victoria

United States coach overbroke Ned Feller, who had just lost to American Olympic gold winner Charles Austin, stood in the VIP section waiting for the start of the 150-m race. Asked which of the stars he expected to win, he calmly said "Johnson."

Bailey draped all along that like race would determine who was the world's fastest man. "That was decided in Atlanta," he said, referring to his world 100-m record at the Olympics. Still, the race had clearly become personal for Bailey, and he took some uncharacteristic heat shots for his loss. To a CBC crew, he called Johnson

"clacker" for pulling up lame after falling behind. To CBS, he said "He didn't pull up. He's just a coward." Later, only slightly more reserved, he said "I don't think I did it. I think it was all I knew is he wasn't going to beat me." Bailey's agent, Ray Flynn, was more diplomatic. "I had a feeling that someone was going to snap in this race," Flynn said. "There was just so much pressure."

Even if there is a rematch, it won't likely be staged by Magellan. "I've done this sports," Bailey said. "It should be organized by people who know track and field." But for all Magellan's mistakes, perhaps the worst crime was that, according to some reports, it came up \$2 million short on a budget of \$4 million. And in the cruel world of sport, one lies a loser.

JAMES DEACON

SPORTS/Column



Bob Levin

Sport and showbiz, bluster and farce

The Big Maccus was still over an hour away, and television athletes were leaving and waiting and holding back. They were warming up acts and everyone knew it. This would all end with a bang.

Down on the SkyDome's concrete floor, which was darkly dotted with blue and yellow stars, the VIPs were running and guessing. Dede Thompson, the great British discus thrower for the Swiss race sponsor Swatch, expected Michael Johnson to win because he was "more consistent" than Donovan Bailey. Jackie Joyner Kersee, the marvellous American long jumper—graciously signing autographs after being her own showdown with Germany's Heide Dreierhoff—said it and said, "I'll go with Michael." But this was mostly a Canadian crowd, after all, and it was John Bailey and she begged to differ. "My dear Donovan," said the sprinter's lover and partner, "the way he's a runner in the world, an matter what happens today. But by the grace of the Lord, he's going to make it."

Another one of them looking best? What happened in Toronto on the evening of June 1, 1997, was equal parts sport and showbiz, bluster and force. That is, so would Johnson's brother and that race took longer and wasn't as much fun. The Bailey-Johnson charade, it should be noted, one of those classic athletic rivalries, clacker! these so intricately linked that history grants winner and loser almost equal status. No Al-Farmer here (or Louis Schwardinger broke that). No Palmer-Nicklaus, Borg-McEnroe, or Howe-Richard for that matter. This was a split-the-difference deal between specialists in separate disciplines—a matchup made not in sports arenas but in a promoter's very earthly mind. An oddity, an exhibition, more akin to Mike Tyson Kipps and Bobby Riggs. Remember that one? Another dance, however. 1997 Young British artist's club closures in the Toronto scene's Battle of the Bells. Billie Jean was carried in on an Egyptian barge and lost in a 10-minute white dress and a little scene in which she proceeded to run Riggs ragged, so that she lost not merely a woman but a woman's life guard.

Geoff Brindley, one suspects, will never be a woman's life guard. But it was the ambitious Brindley who, snatching the money in the Bailey-Johnson clash, made the match. Never mind that hers was the only track that couldn't stand straight, split rights or even round up the three media sponsors for a pre-race show-and-tell. Never mind that these underdog competitors dropped out and the "flicker-eye parade" was scratched (good show, not a single Venezuelan had ever heard of it), and the promoters asked reporters to cough up \$150 apiece for

the privilege of doing "blackie" with the participants, which is like making the town over pay for shoeing. Forget, too, how the One-to-One should result in a flood of red ink, and how Bailey nearly bowed over the curve of the track. The show must go on.

And so the slow-witted, manhandling their fans. Out of sight, down in the concrete bunker, the undercurrents dutifully filed into press conferences where hardly any reporters came to ask them questions.

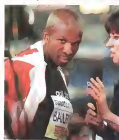
All that waiting for a 15-second race, and yet fewer seconds than that have shaped a lifetime. Consider Harold Abrahams, the British sprinter deposed in the 1981 long-jumper Games of the Americas was the World's Fastest Man of 1924, beating the 100m at the Pan-Am Games. He later carved out a career as a sports writer, broadcaster and administrator, supply

casting in as those 10.6 Olympic seconds, an intense, complicated race still so obscured by time that he was three steps ahead. "What is the good of being second in an Olympic race?" Abrahams once wrote. "The winner gets all the flowers, it may not be justice, but it is life." "I'm enough, for who remembers who finished second? Well, as Ned Faussem recounts in his book *The Fastest Man on Earth*, American Jackson Scholz remembered, for he was that man. And what exactly did Scholz remember of Abrahams? He was asked a mere 62 years after the race. "I remember his name," Scholz replied.

Good loss. No one at the SkyDome said anything near as witty or wise as that. But then, neither Bailey nor Johnson had 62 years to think about it. Presumably decades from now, the two grandsons will still remember how, with the vast family over the crowd, came alive as the pair accelerated, stretched, stripped off—one from Canada and Abidjan, the other from the United States and Nike. The closer race as they battled from the blocks and whirled around the curve, Bailey leading, and then Johnson pulled up late or just lucky, depending on whose version one believes, but in any case Johnson will surely remember Bailey's posture as well, disappearing down the track.

So Bailey got all the flowers and most of the money (though the loser's \$700,000 isn't as consolation prize) and. And Bailey did some track-training and a reporter—from a mile distance—asked Johnson if he'd thrown the race.

"No comment," said a glistening Johnson. But then there was John's father, beaming, praising God, and her husband George, Donovan's father, saying how "he makes us so proud," how "he's my baby and I love him." Swaggers and sedition and a good controversy, too. All that waiting for 14.99 seconds, and well worth it.



The winner and 200 champion, just-care crash talk

What is a father?

A Calgary court rules on parental rights

He seemed, at the time, to be an ideal sperm donor. Toronto physician King Tak Lee was intelligent, wealthy and well-laced—an important consideration for a woman who had suffered extreme pain delivering her two sons by her belly, six-foot, three-inch former husband. So when Corinne Johnson-Steeves decided she wanted another baby, the Calgary woman invited Lee, a longtime platonic friend, to join her in Las Vegas in March, 2002. She broached the subject after dinner the first evening, as the two lay in separate beds in a shared hotel room. "He said that it was a possibility that I had picked him," recalls Johnson-Steeves, 35, who consented to discuss terms with the 44-year-old doctor. Lee agreed to have sexual intercourse, provide financial support and maintain contact with the health and welfare of the child. "It was to be my child to raise on my own," says Johnson-Steeves. "The doctor and the mother to

be consensated these deal that night and then again in April, when Lee spent a week in Calgary. Nigel Lee Johnson-Steeves was born on January 28, 2003. His father, Johnson-Steeves told *Alberta's*, "went exactly as I planned."

But soon after words, complications developed. When Nigel was 10 months old, Johnson-Steeves refused to let Lee continue his occasional visits with the boy, arguing that, as a "sperm donor," he had no parental rights. Lee—who was paying \$300 a month in child support—decided to sue for access. During the two-week trial, which wrapped up in a Calgary courtroom last week, lawyers argued the unstable legal moralist didn't intend to raise the boy because he didn't want a woman's right to create a fatherless family against the rights of a child to have access to both biological parents. And, in an era of reproductive wonders that threaten to reduce paternity to a droplet of sperm,



Johnson-Steeves, Nigel, 'inventing' decisions

the court probed the very nature of fatherhood. Notes Lee's lawyer, Michelle Rollins, "It has raised a lot of extremely interesting issues about our ability to plan families the way we want and raise kids free from any parental parents."

Last week, Justice Colleen Kenny of Alberta's Court of Queen's Bench gave Lee the right to visit the son he has not seen in nearly four years. Her 26-page ruling stressed that she made her decision in the best interests of the child. "Nigel knows and will come to know that he has a father and mother as all children do," she wrote. "It is Nigel's right of access to his father and not his mother's right to bargain away." Kenny also took a swipe at both Lee and Johnson-Steeves, suggesting that the circumstances of the boy's conception were "anomalous and perhaps disastrous." But she was most harsh as her assessment of Johnson-Steeves, labelling her an "intensely selfish" for trying to dismiss Lee's attempts to visit the boy. "What struck me throughout the trial was how little was said about what would be in Nigel's best interest and how much was said about the fertility. Ms. Johnson-Steeves wanted," observed Kenny, adding that "society and biology have not yet reached the point where we have dispensed with fathers or mothers completely."

Some faulted the decision as a breakthrough for children's rights. "What makes this case important is the focus on the child's right to a child in his loved and cared for by both parents as equitably as possible," says Randy Libert, a Regina-based spokesman for the National Shared Parenting Association. Libert acknowledges that the decision is particularly encouraging for men, who make up 80 per cent of the new

biological group's 5,000 members. "It's been hell for fathers," says the recently divorced Libert. "There is a gender bias that makes men as caregivers and fathers are breadwinners. Our judicial system is 30 years behind the times."

Johnson-Steeves agrees that the courts are lagging behind social reality—but for very different reasons. "The judgments came from the old school," says the disappointed mother, who works from home for her parents' business, Sharm restaurant. "It is troubling to people brought up by single parents—people like Bill Clinton, Sir Isaac Newton. That's an ancient family, it would be a tragedy to break it up. Dr. Lee is a stranger to him. A sperm donor is not a father."

But what makes a father? There is real meat to thought that affects all men, even if it seems unnecessary because all we need are the sperm to achieve a pregnancy, says McGill ethicist Margaret Somerville. Of course, she adds, the issue is "whether that is good for children." Some social scientists believe that idea by defining fatherhood in terms of the quality of a relationship. Ruth Pielinger, a professor of child psychiatry at McMaster University in Hamilton, emphasises that fatherhood is more than biology; it takes a continuing, committed relationship. Says Pielinger, "Money and sperm don't do it."

But critics suggest that Johnson-Steeves' attempt to dismiss Lee as a sperm donor was an unlikely legal ground. "It is women who have a child in her womb, not men who have the sperm," says Pielinger. "There are options for that through artificial insemination. But there was intercourse and Dr. Lee was involved with the child. The friendship broke down and she then began denying him access." Johnson-Steeves' lawyer, Diane Castro, says the decision points to the inadequacy of the law. "In the United States, there are laws that address artificial insemination and sperm donations," she says. "We have to invent all. At some stage, we're going to have to say that biology is not an absolute right."

The lawyer-aided at the centre of the debate may not understand the ethical dimensions of his situation, but he did understand the impact of the court's decision. Justice Kenny has instructed his parents' lawyers to have a child psychologist to smooth out their differences so that Nigel can meet his father without "further delay." That, says Pielinger, will not be easy. "If antagonism and conflict continue, it can be very disruptive for this to be his. It's not a simple matter, preparing a stranger to come and be his dad." So far, Johnson-Steeves, who plans to appeal the ruling, has answered her son's questions by saying that "Mom had a special friend help make you." After such a bitter battle, friendship seems the farthest thing from her mind.

SHARON DOYLE DUBOIS/with
JACQUELINE in Calgary



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Adventure



Risky business

Calgary climber Andy Evans was 150 m from the top of the world, the peak and final summit of Mount Everest. With a 300-km/h wind howling in his face, the 35-year-old geologist inched his way up a perilously thin ridge of rock, snow and ice—as if disposed without law masters of the frozen bodies. Two were Russians from the 25-member team Evans had joined in April to climb the 8,848-m Himalayan peak. The others had perhaps a poor chance of a mountain that has claimed 154 lives since it was first conquered in 1953 by Sir Edmund Hillary and his Sherpa partner Tenzing Norgay. "I tried not to look at the bodies as I went by," said Evans, who returned home last week to a hero's welcome. "But you could n't help it. They were only a few feet away. It was a grim reminder that there's no margin for error."

A day after Evans reached the summit on May 22, fellow Calgarians Alan Hobson, 34, and Jamie Clarke, 38, added their names to the list of 16 Canadians and more than 700 people worldwide who have scaled Everest. But their achievements came at a time when, in the view of many experts, the mountain that once offered climbers the ultimate test of endurance, skill and courage has become crowded, littered with waste and tainted by controversy. During this spring's two-month climbing season, more than 300 people—a mix of whom didn't—tried to scale the mountain, many paying up to \$80,000 to be part

of grueling expeditions. "It's become too crowded," concludes Geoff Fowler, an accomplished climber and editor of the *Canadian Alpine Journal*. "One of the beauties of the sport of mountaineering is the wilderness, the solitude, the sense of adventure."

As cluttered as the climb may be, a trip to the top of Everest remains an arduous and dangerous undertaking. Evans and a team that included one fellow Alberta, an Australian and 20 Russians and Kazakhs he had met during a 1996 expedition in the former Soviet Union, assembled on April 5 at their base camp at the foot of the mountain. Over the next seven weeks, the climbers methodically scaled the moun-

tain, using the standard procedure for conquering Everest—climb high, sleep low. During the day, they worked their way up the mountain, pitching tents at newly established camps and leaving food and fuel supplies and oxygen canisters. Then they returned to lower altitude camps at night to allow their bodies to adjust to the lack of oxygen.

Once they had set up a final camp at an altitude of 8,200 m, the members of the team who were staying for the summit waited one day until May 7, when they had adequate strength and the right weather to attempt the final 549 m. The three Russians set out first, recalls Evans who, at a massive five feet, seven inches, is known as "Mighty Moose" among his colleagues at Canadian

Top of the world: this spring, nine died trying

Winter Exploration, a Calgary-based outfit. The two reinforced cables contact with the rest of the team until reaching the summit and breathing their descent. But when they failed to return that night, and could not be contacted by radio, it was clear that a tragedy had befallen them. "The expedition was stalled for two weeks by three wins of nearly 200 km/h. 'All hell broke loose,'" says Evans. "All we could do was wait, knowing that the three guys who had gone up didn't survive."

Finally, as the previous darkness of May 22, Evans set out alone on the 6½-hour climb to the top. From a lower camp, his climbing partner, 50-year-old Peter Jungman of Cochrane, Alta., watched him through a telescope but did not have the strength to attempt the summit himself. On his way up, Evans met a Slovenian mountaineer and they completed the climb together. As they stood on top of the world, Evans realized, they hugged, soaked tears and burst into tears. "I can't explain the feeling," said the Canadian, his face still scarred by sun and wind. "It's embarrassing. You can't believe what you've done."

Evans, most of joy

For Hobson and Clarke—who had not returned home by late last week—the expedition was their third to Everest, but the first time they attempted the summit. They were members of an eight-member Canada-U.S. team, sponsored by Vancouver-based Colson International, a multinational real estate company, and Lotus Development, a computer software firm headquartered in Cambridge, Mass. There were five climbers on the team, as well as an organizer and two communications coordinators, who provided Calgary climbers' outlets with professionally produced press kits before departing, then sent back daily dispatches for the expedition information. Upon returning, Clarke and Hobson, who are co-owners of a multinational sporting firm called The Everest Effect Inc., will address Colson and Lotus employees on the merits of teamwork.

Evans who has been scaling mountains for two decades, covered half the \$100,000 cost of his Everest expedition in hardware. He received a donation from his employer and sold T-shirts to raise the remaining funds. He was back at work the day after returning, obviously proud of what he had achieved, but questioning the commercialization of Everest. "They bring people with money and not enough experience," he says. "A lot don't have the right stuff to go up there but they've got the cheques." The three Calgarians, fortunately, had both

DALE ESSLER in Calgary

Education



Dolls: open wallets—and emerging fears of an overdependence on outside sources

Dialling for dollars

Cash-strapped schools turn to the private sector

For the University of Alberta, it was a last-ditch effort to earn a minimal investment. Last month, working on an evening shift for the Education University's fund-raising Students Calling Program, music major Kathy Dodds happened upon what she now describes as "a surprising batch of really generous people." For four hours of work, Dodds took home a paycheck of \$28. But her university banked considerably more—nearly 6,000 times more. In all, Dodds talked alumni into making \$162,000 in gifts and pledges—the most ever raised by a student caller in a single shift. "My friends call me Chatty Kathy, and I don't find agency good either," says Dodds. "But people do seem more open than ever to helping out the university and its students."

Across the country, individuals and corporations are looking out their checkbooks and at prying open their wallets in a ritual that has sustained universities south of the border for decades. And their newfound generosity is helping a profound effort on Canadian campuses—helping to establish funds for scholarships and bursaries, as well as new facilities, professorships and programs. Dodds's efforts are part of a \$3.64-million campaign, close to half of which will be earmarked for student aid. The drive had already raised \$77 million, with eight schools in loyal donations and local businesses, but five of its official launch date of April 2, in Halifax, Saint Mary's University is heading into the home stretch of a five-year campaign

whose goal was to raise \$22 million from private sources—but which has already surpassed the \$14-million target. Just two years into a \$30-million campaign, the University of Saskatchewan has already surpassed that by more than \$12 million.

In Ontario, meanwhile, universities are tallying up the funds donated to the widely successful Ontario Student Opportunity Trust Fund. Launched last May by the province, which matched all gifts made over as 11-month period, the OSOTF has received pledges of more than \$250 million for student aid. At the University of Toronto, currently undertaking the largest fund-raising drive in Canadian university history, 33,000 individuals and corporations have donated over \$80 million, increasing annual scholarships and bursaries by \$12 million. The University of Ottawa raised \$6 million—when matched by the province, enough for 750 yearly \$5,000 bursaries. In Sudbury, donors gave \$5.5 million to Laurier University.

The money is flowing in at a time when many students are sorely in need of help. Average tuition has soared 45 per cent in Canada over the past four years. In all, 40 per cent of students now have to make their way through university. And while their average debt upon graduation was \$4,700 in 1994, it is expected to hit \$25,000 next year. "Jobs are scarce, and expenses are now a lot higher," says Thomas Harcourt, director of the Canadian Alliance of Student Associations. "That



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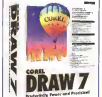
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A verdict for Oklahoma City

They cried often, sniffling their soles with their hands, as the prosecutor meticulously detailed how their relatives had died in the horrific explosion. Last week and into this week, their anguish continued as they wept during a jury deliberation the late of Timothy McVeigh, the 35-year-old Gulf War veteran accused of triggering the massive truck bomb outside the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. In the end, survivors and relatives of the 168 people killed in the explosion gave what they were waiting for. As McVeigh sat impassively, hands clasped tightly and pressed against one chest, the jury foreman pronounced him guilty on all 11 charges, including eight counts of murder. Outside the Denver court room where the trial was held, the victims' families cheered and hugged. "This grandma came to town to make sure a real person's political statement of murder and terrorism," said victims spokesman Paul Hertz, who was in the building at the time of the blast. "He is going to live with the responsibility that our laws provide."

The jury took no more time to separate, having begun this work at trial had to determine whether McVeigh's responsibility would include the death penalty for his part in the largest, proudest act ever on a U.S. soil. Resolving their verdict after 23 hours of deliberation, the seven male and five women held McVeigh responsible for the murder of eight federal agents working in the building and 10 others. They also found him guilty on two counts involving the use of a weapon of mass destruction and use of a weapon of mass destruction. While jurors granted the prosecution leniency in as mitigated from the overt harm, McVeigh's attorney said he was beginning immediately to prepare for the sentencing phase. "We will be working with him tonight," said Stephen Jones. He declined to discuss McVeigh's feelings about the verdict.

The most dramatic outcome before the jury came from a former army buddy of McVeigh's, Michael Fortner. He testified that shortly after McVeigh acted as best man at his wedding in Las Vegas, July 1994, he began to talk about taking "offensive action" against the government. McVeigh had reached angrily in 1993 when federal agents raid-

ed the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Tex., and more than 70 people died. According to Fortner, McVeigh saw that action—which occurred two years to the day before the Oklahoma blast—as evidence that Washington was determined to strip people of their rights. The defendant, said the witness, then set off on a mission to trigger the "second American revolution." The fact that the federal building was a target of the attack, said Fortner, was not surprising. "Because they are part of the evil empire," he said, "they were guilty by association." Investigators say McVeigh was introduced by an associate, Terry Nichols, who faces trial for this part.

The prosecution supported Fortner's testimony with forensic evidence, including traces of explosive powder on McVeigh's clothes when he was arrested, and other key witnesses.

A jury finds McVeigh guilty on all 11 charges

Witness Ethel, owner of a body shop in Junction City, Mo., confidently identified McVeigh as the man who rented a six-wheeled Ryder truck used in the explosion. Other businessmen in the area described how McVeigh had used to purchase large amounts of organic fertilizer, gasoline and other components of the bomb from his sister, Jennifer, offered funding testimony, telling the court that just before the attack McVeigh told her he was moving from the "propaganda stage" to the "action stage" as he was against Washington.

For the defense, Jones called two dozen witnesses in an attempt to convince the jury that McVeigh was innocent and that the trial bomber had died in the blast. He pointed out that a long friend in the public has never been identified as coming from a known victim, and could have belonged to an unknown murderer. Jones, a 56-year-old lawyer from Enid, Okla., also hoped to stir up sympathy, claiming he had led in order to protect by selling his story. But Jones suffered a setback when Judge Richard Matsch would



The convicted bomber: no remorse in the courtroom

and let him call witnesses to discuss details of a larger conspiracy involving foreign and domestic terrorists.

The trial never degenerated into the circus that surrounded O.J. Simpson's double murder hearing last year. Here in Denver because of the presumed impossibility of finding an impartial jury in Oklahoma City, it proceeded in a much quieter pace than the infamous Los Angeles case, lasting just 31 days. There were no TV cameras in Matsch's courtroom, and the judge kept both sides' lawyers on a tight leash. Still, Jones did try to stir up public sympathy to work him out of the box. In a number of TV interviews, McVeigh's soft-spoken, white-haired paragon had been as a composed, calm man. But as the trial wore on, McVeigh rarely smiled. He stared blankly away, and only an occasional furrowed brow gave any hint of how he felt.

The trial was also about the victims. The prosecution opened and closed its arguments with emotional references to the 1984 draft. Dreams of their relatives attended college. And Jim Denning, whose two children were severely hurt in the blast and the victims should never be forgotten. "I'm so happy for the people who lost family in the bombing," said Denning after the jury announced its verdict. "I hope that no one forgets the 168 innocent lives of this whole story."

TOM FENNELLS with correspondent reports

History's hostage

A Chinese defector's life in Canada is bittersweet

There is a cryptic Chinese proverb that says, "Break bricks down door, jade will follow." Its meaning, according to Ting-Ning Ye, author of the compelling new memoir *A Leaf in the Winter Wind* (Doubleday \$22.95), is that a strong force is needed to make a change, to open up a better way of life.

It is in good fortune that we can describe the turbulent life of 55-year-old Ye, once a high-ranking interpreter with China's foreign ministry, who left her native Shanghai 30 years ago. Ye, with her sharp nose and soft-spoken manner, bears the hardships she has endured: her parents' early deaths, poverty, six years of hard labor on a prison farm and other brutalities of the Cultural Revolution. The most difficult trial of all has been the 30-year separation from her daughter, Qi-ming, now 28. When he did not return to China after her studies at Toronto's York University ended in 1980, her husband cut off all contact with their child. He sent back Ye's letters to her daughter in shreds, and did not allow any of her relatives to visit the little girl. On a trip back to Shanghai in 1990, he caught sight of her daughter from a distance, but was unable to talk to her. Since then, Qi-ming and her father have disappeared. "I started this book as a record for my daughter," says Ye. "I want her to know what happened—from me, not the state."

The story that Ye has recounted is one of loss, sorrow and suffering. But it is also filled with irony and surprising twists of fate. Not least, in the account of how she ended up in Ottawa, Que., 120 km north of Toronto, she now lives with William Dell, a high-school teacher and young-wedded novelist whom she first encountered at the Foreign Affairs College in Beijing in 1980, where Dell taught English. Ye—then married to Qi-ming's father, whom she had met as the prison farm—was studying to advance her career as a social interpreter. One of the class exercises was to learn a journal, and Ye, accustomed to guarding her innermost thoughts, opened up. "I felt safe with him," says Ye, explaining that in China, people rarely ex-

pressed their true opinions for fear of being attacked as ideologically unsound. "Part of it was that he would be going back to Canada. But I really did feel that I could write or say anything to him."

The pair's friendship and eventual romance was hampered by the fact that both were still married. But Ye, by a strict Chinese ban on personal relationships with for-

eigners. Nonetheless, just before Dell returned to Canada he declared his feelings to Ye, and the two began a clandestine correspondence. Back home, Dell separated from his wife (they have three children) and began working to help Ye secure a place as a social interpreter at York University. He used the \$6,500 received by the Canadian government for her to study in Canada. There, to get around bizarre Chinese rules limiting the sources of funding for students abroad, he invented a false scholarship that was per-

fectly tailored to Ye's skills and educational background. "We knew nothing at the plot, believing that the scholarship she had won was the real thing. When Dell packed me up at the airport, I said I wanted to see the scholarship people soon, to thank them. He told me that he had a lot of explaining to do."

Ye began a new life in York, supporting herself with odd jobs—everything from interpreter to book clerk to editor at a business publication. Her dream was to return to China in 1980 was the hardest she had ever made, she says. "We knew that her marriage was over after years of steadily leading over her psychosis to her husband and enduring the almost constant presence of one of his male friends—who, against her parents' wishes, she had married. "It was hard enough," she says, "but to this day I don't know the true nature of his relationship with my husband." And she could no longer take the constant surveillance, at work and the general oppression of Chinese society. But she still appears over her decision. "Sometimes I look at my mother's picture and ask her to forgive me for seeking happiness here," Ye says, weeping. "Then now, I question whether I was too selfish. My fear is that people will read my book and think that I sought my own freedom at the expense of my daughter."

Writing *A Leaf in the Winter Wind* was therapeutic, she says. "Many times I asked myself why did I want to leave all this terrible stuff? But I did leave. Most of the book focuses on her past life, but there are terrible years on the prison farm. During 1982, she was the fourth of five children at a village women and her factory owner husband. Because her father had been a capitalist, she was politically suspect from an early age. In 1950, her father's business was nationalized and he was demoted to a menial position with low pay. The family was further impoverished when he failed to recover from a botched operation. He died when Ye was 9, and Ye's mother succumbed to stomach cancer three years later.

Ye and her siblings were raised by their grand-aunt, staying on meagre welfare handouts by a neighborhood cannibal. But the children were still subject to excessive scrutiny because of their once privileged position. Ye recalls the humiliation she felt under the constant watchfulness of their neighbors. "The little things, like not to make any way you're eating anything too rich," she says, because fear of indignation. In 1968, Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung

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JULY 1 ISSUE

100 Canadians to Watch

Nominate the notable individuals who are Canada's potential leaders of tomorrow: rebels and dreamers, heirs and activists, artists and engineers, athletes and actors. Maclean's readers are invited to submit nominations with testimonials of 50 words or less.

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100 Canadians to Watch will appear in
the July 1 issue, on newsstands June 23.

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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

BOOKS

It launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a violent upheaval in which millions of people were persecuted, persecuted and persecuted for lack of revolutionary fervor. Bigger was widespread in peasant virtually ignored crops to concentrate on political indoctrination, and the normal school curriculum was replaced by political indoctrination. Two years later, 26-year-old Ye was exiled to the countryside, part of a national government policy ostensibly designed to break the pressure on urban populations. On a collective work farm, which also housed criminals, Ye helped transform barren land into rice paddies. Aside from the backbreaking labor, the hard food and lack of privacy, one of her worst experiences was being beaten and deprived of sleep for words, and she agreed to sign a false statement accusing her friends of antisocial activities. Later, she realized they had been prone to one of the country's endemic factional fights.

While Ye spent much longer on the farm than most of her peers, her intelligence and largely self-taught ability to speak English earned her a place at Beijing University and, eventually, a job with the Chinese Secret Service, one of the highest placements an interpreter could hope for. Ye was terrified. "It was terribly ironic: I hated the Party" (instead, she asked for a transfer back to Shanghai, where she could look after her beloved grandson, Chen Fengqun). Ye became a translator for Shanghai's municipal government, dealing with the delegations of Queen Elizabeth. Inside Mao's and then-president Hu Jintao's Beijing. After six years, Ye decided to further her studies in Beijing, where she met Bell.

It was Bell who encouraged her first attempts to write a memoir—as well as the children's story she began working on as an exercise to dredging up painful memories. That tale, called *Three Men, No Water*, takes an expression her mother had always used, a scheduled departure in September by Lu Xun. It is the first of three books she has completed for the Toronto-based publisher. "Writing about her life seems to have unleashed a great flood of creativity in her," observes 54-year-old Bell, who says he is still amazed at how things have turned out.

The contrast with Ye's former life could not be greater. In traditional China, writing itself could be a dangerous occupation. "There's a saying in Chinese: 'White paper, black characters mean you're dead,'" she notes. But Ye has clearly overcome that in fiction. And while she continues her efforts to reunite with her daughter, she says she has found a measure of peace with her past. "I could never have imagined even writing here talking openly about such intimate things. It's a miracle."

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Books



Zimmerman: a reputation for integrity, talk, strong opinions

Insider knowledge

Ex-Noranda head takes a candid look back

WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE ANYWAY?

By Adam Zimmerman
Illustrated, 310 pages, \$29.95

In a stage of hard, behind-the-scenes, Adam Zimmerman stands apart. The former chairman and chief executive of Noranda Forest Inc. clearly does not believe in having his soul or during the dirt on colleagues. As a result, those who search Zimmerman's new book for self-revelation, juicy gossip and boardroom acrobatics will be disappointed. On the other hand, anyone looking for a candid, inside view of how major companies operate, how they contend with a range of current issues, how they deal with government, shareholders and one another, is in for a treat. During his more than 30 years in the senior ranks of Noranda, Zimmerman developed a solid reputation among his peers—and the business press—for straight talk and strong opinions. And *Who's In Charge* reflects the brisk, blunt style of his office.

Zimmerman, 70, struggles to avoid attacking his corporate foes—and almost succeeds. Still, after declaring that there is "nothing to gain from litigious-banking" (Noranda acquired effective control of Noranda through a hostile bid in 1980), he cannot resist a look at "financial engineers" who know little about the operations of

companies they control. Neither can he refrain from a snide reference to the "bush flower case" at his Boscon conviction. Jack Casdwell, Conrad Black, the media tycoon who ousted Zimmerman and several others as directors of Southern Inc. in 1999, is pronounced "a horse's ass."

Throughout *Who's In Charge*, Zimmerman manages to balance candid and repressive. And his engaging personal tone transforms dry topics, such as Canada's softwood lumber dispute with the United States, into accessible material. Many Canadians would agree with his very admission that "shakes and shingles"—one of the subjects of the protracted dispute—sounds more like a disease than a category of wood products. Zimmerman expresses his analysis of this lawsuit with plenty of colorful details about the byzantine backroom negotiations. Clearly no fan of free-trade minister Pat Carney, Zimmerman concedes that he misjudged RBC Vander Zanden, former premier of British Columbia. "Paunder Zanden had always struck me as a 'loser,'" he writes, "but his belatedly obvious was deceptive." His account of the often frustrating trade negotiations casts a harsh light on Canada's propensity for self-destructive fragmentation—in 1980, the departmental sector came to the bargaining table represented by 85 regional organizations. And he criticizes federal negotiators for coming in

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BOOKS

to what he calls American herd-like tactics. When he is called upon to defend what may might consider the indefensible, such as deactivating forests or generating disaster at a pulp mill, Zimmerman holds his own remarkably well. He recounts that he has had plenty of opportunity to practise disputation: explanations of his industry's environmental record—including many episodes at the lovely dinner table where his four children, "asked and alerted by my wife," have attacked him and Noranda Forest.

Never one to shy away from contentious subjects, Zimmerman has also included a chapter on his experiences with the Canadian media. This should be required reading for any corporate executive who has ever dodged a media ambush. Zimmerman insists that the press should be treated seriously because "reporting is a crucible in which public opinion is formed... and it contributes to the formation of public policy." For the most part, his right commander-in-chief for handling the media are common sense. Among them: be available, answer questions, warm welcome and know when to shut up.

There is an equally practical guide to Zimmerman's reflections on the trendy topic of corporate governance and the rules that apply to directors and corporate officers. In his view, corporate governance codes should simply embody "common sense, honesty and fair play." As a veteran of more than 40 corporate and charitable boards, however, he does not underestimate the destructive potential of human frailties. And again, he offers some pointers on how to cut through some of the stuff at the boardroom table. Unfortunately, Zimmerman cites legal reasons for his inability to comment at length on the adventures of the ill-fated board of Confederation Life. Following the collapse of that company, of which he was chairman for the final 17 months, considerable blame was laid at the feet of the directors for their failure to intervene earlier and with more resolve. He cautions, somewhat weakly, that "the board gave it their best shot before throwing in the towel."

What is *Change* really fights against when Zimmerman abandons specific regulations and means almost the complete relationship between business and government. Contrary to what most voters assume, he states that governments are profoundly suspicious of business and have little objective information about how business works. "What business men above all else are sudden change and resistance to new ideas is their ally," he declares. To avoid eroding public policy and over-regulation, Zimmerman advocates a shift away from crisis management towards a more continuous, constructive dialogue. What is *Change* Here, *Anyways*? It's one strong step in that direction.

LEONOR WATSON

BOOKS

Out of the shadows

A bitter woman finds redemption in writing

INSTRUMENTS OF DARKNESS

By Nancy Mitton

(Little, Brown Canada, 317 pages, \$19.95)

Nadia, the contemporary heroine of Nancy Mitton's haunting novel, *Instruments of Darkness*, is anything but an apolitical character. In fact, to convey her inner anguish, the devoted, forthright American novelist has pointedly renamed herself Nadia, after the Spanish word for "suffering." Her heart, she says, is "an entire university that teaches nothing but hatred." Even God—"a cruel, cruel killer who answers to no one"—is a jagged lip in her eyes. Nadia, it becomes clear, has been heavily damaged by her childhood. Her drunken father sabotaged her mother's career as a concert pianist—"he married the bird to the devil," she chillingly observes. And she is further haunted by her own failures.

So Nadia wills herself not to care, because, as she says in one alarming outburst, "I'd allow any tiny speck of human reality to mangle me with it if the endless litany of suffering, bodies tortured, blotted, raped, skinned, electrocuted, ground to the bone by illness, minds devouring themselves alive, newborn babies with AIDS left lying naked on their backs in the dry road of the outside world, heads shot to death in the six sheep used as substitutes for humans in experimental nuclear explosions in Kazakhstan in 1954, and the camps, the thundering flames, the blinding gas, and my mother's face as she stared in disbelief at my father's rage."

If this remorseless sensibility were all that this novel had to offer, *London*—a Canadian-born writer who has lived in Paris since 1952, writing novels in both French and English—would be writing too much of her readers' darkest, *Instruments of Darkness*.

which in its French version was nominated for last year's Governor General's Award, is not only a masterpiece both of the art of writing and the art of redemption.

While reflecting bitterly on her own life, Nadia is researching a novel about a young French maid-servant, Barbe Deroin, who was raped by her employer and then sentenced to die in 1792 after she disposed of her newborn baby. The novel shifts its focus. Nadia's journal (which she calls the "anastrophie notebook" after an Italian musical term meaning the sound of repressed instruments) and the deprived life of the orphaned Barbe, who somehow remains remarkably resilient.

Hision constructs a parallel universe that allows her great modern heroine to find a way out of her own grief and, in a way, to put the "Y" back in Nadia. It seems a little too psychologically just, but as the story of Barbe unfolds, the novel becomes more and more compelling, dense with demons, ghosts and wonderfully acute knowledge of music and writing.

Despite its heaviness, *Instruments of Darkness* has the same "confounding vitality" that Nadia discovers in her 18th-century heroine, Barbe. As the art of writing and the art of redemption become one and the same, for Nadia the darkness is life—just a little.

JUDITH TIMMON

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THEATRE

programs distributed with each performance, crisscrossed with informative essays and photographs, they reflect Newton's belief that each play can be a doorway to discovery to a particular era.

The dominant British role in Newton's festival clearly pleases most of its patrons. But many cultural nationalists are critical, arguing that the artistic director is recreating the experience of a younger, colonial Canada, where Canadians watched actors with British accents put on British plays reflecting the superior culture of the mother land. The irony is that Newton himself sometimes talks like a cultural nationalist about the need for Canadians to reflect their own culture and history—and moreover, he has better credentials for his critics to suspect. Although he has a British background—he was born in 1966 in the small town of Deal on the southeast English coast—he has been in Canada since 1961, following an acting and directing career that paralleled the meteoric rise of the country's theatre scene. He has acted in major repertory theatres across the country. And in 1998 he became the founding artistic director of Theatre Calgary where, among his other accomplishments, he staged a play he helped write about a white balloon voyage made in the last century from the Stagnated grounds.

Newton's successful three-year stint in Calgary was followed by not highly creative years as the artistic director of the Vancouver Playhouse, where he nurtured some of the finest actors who will be with him: Nagels-Lake today known as something of a firebrand, Newton presented several controversial productions in Vancouver, including director Derek Goldkorn's version of Bertolt Brecht's *A Man for All Seasons*, which climaxed with the grossing tragedy in rape has little with a wide label. When Newton took up the artistic directorship of the Shaw Festival in 2000, he tried to revive the scandalous, debt-ridden organization with the same kind of gutsy, in-your-face theatre. The experiment was a spectacular failure. Critics and patrons alike called for his dismissal. He still makes jokes about having to hermeneutic himself in his cottage in order to escape the angry hangers-on (Nagels-on the Lake) and the debt grew. But in his third year, he turned around the festival's fortunes with some solid productions, including a memorable staging of Edmund Ross's *Cyrano de Bergerac* starring Robin Lauder. It was around that time, in fact, that New-

ton began to change his opinion of Shaw and his works, which he had once dismissed as so much rhetorical hot air. He told Keith Goulet, author of the 1998 study *George Bernard Shaw and Christopher Marlowe*, that he discovered "there was more to Shaw than I ever dreamed of: surreal, resonant, troubling. A look beneath the surface, and I glimpsed unimagined demons." Newton gave such contradictions his *Overbrook House* and *Shakespeare* productions of revelatory originality and power. And, in return, Shaw gave Newton something of his pessimistic religious notions. "I believe in what he believed in the Life Force," Newton says. "I think he was right. There is a power flowing through life that connects all of us."



Festival patrons: During 10 seasons under Newton, it has shown a remarkable ability to reinvent itself.

During his 10 seasons at the festival, Newton has initiated a great deal of life force in developing his troupe of actors. He has always refused—as the Ontario's Stratford Festival—to bring in British or American musical stars, not wanting to upset the delicate ecology of what he calls his "muscular." According to veteran Shaw actor Michael Ball, even within the company "there isn't a star system operating. Nobody goes around considering himself a star." In fact, instead actors will often shift back and forth between major and minor roles—much in some instances would signal a rising or falling status, with all the attendant bad feelings. But Ball says that Newton has been successful in promoting an amiable atmosphere. "Where are my paladins or rivals, they're not truly very much under the surface."

Newton says he worries constantly about doing too comfortable in the job, about so long being able to rest the boat a bit. "As you get older you become afraid," he says

Alfred, and attached to the comforts that come with success. "There's one part of me that craves my life here," he adds, "anybody having been able to save the money to buy this house." His first sign of his best directors against complacency is his own willingness to take criticism from his actors, even the younger ones, when he sometimes affectionately calls "the kids." Says Newton, who has no children of his own: "I do hope they have enough guts in the fact that I'm not going to dismiss them if they're critical of what we're doing. I mean, I like the personal aspect of praise, but if something isn't working, it's going on my feet, I do hope they tell me."

Newton has other ways of keeping himself sharp. He is returning to acting this year, taking on the lead role at Don Stroud in

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Allan Fotheringham

Chrétien cannot lead this divided Canada

What does it herald a diaspora of prime minister from Quebec who retains power only because of miserably apologetic Ontario? It is the result, of course, of the silliest election call within memory, a Liberal leader who is out of gas and headed for the gate.

It is no surprise that the most silent man in the entire Unnecessary Election was Paul Martin, the so-obvious here apparent who just kept his mouth shut, anticipating that his increasingly enormous base was headed for an embarrassing exit.

What is even more embarrassing is that the docile province of Ontario, voting the safe way, has no strong feelings around the contest table. The biggest and richest town in the land, namely Toronto, has no real clout in the government. Ontario is now the ranch of Canadian politics, close to the crowd without any goods, unable to assert itself.

Canadian voters punished the arrogant Liberals just as Ontario voters punished Liberal premier David Peterson for blithely calling an election long before it was due. The careless Chrétien believes that he could get away with sending irritated voters to the polls after only 3 1/2 years in power was punished by the electorate, as could be seen from the polls.

The long-winding voters in troubled Atlantic Canada finally did what common sense indicated they should have done long ago: tried the NDP solution, giving the Prime Minister movement a headwind in the poorest portion of the country.

In doing so, they punished two of the more arrogant monsters in an unbearably arrogant government. David Duguid, the king of Grit patronage, was put into the strider, where he belonged. Doug Young, who seemed such a refreshing, honest voice early on, began to believe his own great chaps and with his super news-billing of the Somalia inquiry evolved into a bully figure. Voters can figure those things out.

So we now have an Italian government, close to an Israeli parliament, the country divided in our case on geographic lines even more than philosophical lines. The government of the time is in



power thanks only to Ontario, the province that has all the politicians but can't throw up any of the brilliant or selfless people who can rise to the top in politics.

Thanks to the lack of a strong, intelligent leader in Ottawa, we now have a completely bifurcated country. A government—wielded by its leading politicians from Quebec—behind the faceless burghers of Ontario for its survival. The new official Opposition lived into the hostile Western Canadian rebuke of Alberta and British Columbia. And Quebec devoted to a reckless separatist ramp devoted to destroying the nation.

The collapse of a Canadian consensus comes—perhaps not by coincidence—at the same time as the death of Peter Gosselin's brilliant Morning side collapse that linked all of intelligent Canada for five mornings a week. There's a link here, the country having off into its selfish little regional hats.

The fading Bloc, with the confused Duceppe, is actually delighted with the electorate's embrace of Parson Preston as Opposition Leader. It is proof indeed to their hard-core believers that an anti-Quebec coalition will have such an important role in the House of Commons. He is the greatest savior the separatists have ever had. Poor Jean Charest, the best exponent of the bunch, but Alton McDougall, the millionaire socialist, is right in rubbing it in that she now leads a party that stretches from coast to coast, with guests in the Atlantic region through the Prairies to British Columbia. Charest, age 38, must make up his own mind, but he will stick around, youth is on his side.

As for Chrétien, he has stayed too long, succeeding only by seniority. This cover works. He was first elected in 1983, when Elton and John Kennedy were still alive. He has been going downhill ever since, throwing both the deconstruction and the CBC seal off as dense. His admirable wife, Alice, willing him away, is a shield, before he alters any more state offerings.

The Liberal grey man in suits, as they always do, will ease him out and assist Martin, one of the few finance ministers in history ever to survive that inside seat and emerge into popularity.

He will follow the Liberal tradition, being a muckworm, as Trudeau was by inheritance, and Chrétien cleverly and quietly because through Bay Street during his interregnum. That's why Ontario likes the government in power, always did, always will.

And it's also why the regions will always hate Ontario, and the Establishment government in power. It is no secret that as the regional political powers blossomed—the Reform, the Bloc—Ontario like the mask over who turns with their tails to the storm, harbored its return, to be delivered to whatever was in power.

The country is finally chopped into its little pieces. The country needs someone to lead into the next century. The incumbent does not qualify.



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